

**INSIDE: A STORM ON THE ENERGY FRONTIER**

# Maclean's

JULY 7, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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## PRIDE AND PATRIOTISM

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

JULY 7, 1994 VOL. 30 NO. 27



### Recess from reversals

As Parliament recessed for the annual two-week summer vacation, the Mulroney government was faced with another decline in its opinion poll. — **Page 18**



### A gathering storm offshore

Faced with disastrously low oil prices, petroleum companies are threatening to delay their frontier exploration projects unless Ottawa provides more money. — **Page 32**

### COVER

### Pride and patriotism

Americans celebrate Independence Day this week with the unveiling of the refurbished Statue of Liberty in New York harbor. Canadians toast their nation's 119th birthday with slightly more reserve. But residents on both sides of the 49th parallel will have their patriotism on display. — **Page 19**

COVER BY R. COLLIER



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### Round one to the President

In a dramatic reversal, the U.S. House of Representatives last week approved Ronald Reagan's controversial \$100-million aid package to Nicaraguan rebels. — **Page 26**



### Tigress of the Nile

Norana Hodgson, alternating lead roles in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Tempest* at the Shrewsbury, is getting rave reviews from London critics. — **Page 46**



## The heartlands speak

When Associate Editor Peter Kopplum and Senior Writer Bob Levin set out to examine emotions in the Canadian and American heartlands before the Canada Day and Independence Day holidays, they were fairly confident of what they would find. Levin expected that his interviews with people across a strip of the America Midwest from Whiting, W. Va., to St. Louis, Mo., would reaffirm an exuberant, confident sense of patriotism on the eve of the July Fourth holiday. He was not surprised. But at Levin, who lived in the Midwest town of Richmond, Ind., for four years while he was in college. "Most of the people I talked to can trace their family history in the area back to the early 19th century. Their ancestors



Leavenworth, Kan., grain elevator. exuberant sense of patriotism

came west in covered wagons or up rivers in canoes. So these Midwesterners today don't think of themselves as Americans or Germans or English or whatever descent—they're just Americans and proud of it."

Kopplum expected to confirm the stereotype that Canadians are bashful about expressing their nationalities, unwilling to discuss the values that they feel distinguish their nation. He was surprised. He discovered that away from the major metropolitan centres, at least, as towns and patriots are thriving. Saul Kopplum: "Overall, I found a powerful sense of buoyancy and optimism. I also had the impression that many Canadians see their country as a balance experiment, evolving in often unpredictable ways."

*Paul Doyle*

Maclean's July 3, 1996

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## Schools for talent

While I certainly appreciate the talent of all the artists included in your survey of Canadian cinema ("Voice guys in riches," *Cover*, June 8), I find the attitude of Larne Michaels and Tom Bretznag to be self-serving. They can now safely assert that the issue of staying in Canada is irrelevant (Michaels) or that Canadian nationalism is not to be taken seriously (Bretznag). But the fact is that without Canadian nationalism there would be no CBC or National Film Board—institutions that helped Michaels and Bretznag to develop their talents. It is precisely because of Canadian nationalism that they have enjoyed such success.

—SERES HANCOCK,  
Mississauga

## The banks and the bailout

Peter C. Newman's May 28 column ("The 500 who rose to infamy," *Business Week*) refers to the participation of the Royal Bank of Canada in the efforts last year to save the Canadian Commercial Bank from collapse. The column describes me as being "particularly bitter about the \$95 billion the Royal put into the bailout package when Ottawa gave no reason to repay, although he claims he got the promise to refund it in writing." That's a misunderstanding of what I told Newman. If the CBC failed, according to the original \$95-million support agreement, the banks would have equal standing with the CBC's depositors in their claim against the assets. That is what was in writing. When the CBC was eventually declared insolvent, the federal government legislated that all the CBC's depos-



Michaels: no need for nationalism

itors would get 100 per cent of their money back from the government of Canada. At the time, Minister of State for Finance Barbara McDougall told me that the banks in the original support group would also get their money back, and authorized me to so inform the other lenders. I did not receive this undertaking in writing, and it was subsequently withdrawn. Then, while the support-group banks met equally with depositors in their claim against the assets, it seems that being equal with depositors is not the same as being a depositor when it comes to repayment from the government of Canada.

—ALLAN TITLOW,  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer,  
Royal Bank of Canada,  
Toronto

## Denying militancy

The article "A troubled community" (*Canada/Cover*, June 8) refers mainly to Sikh and surrounding information. The International Sikh Youth Federation is not a militant group. It is a religious and political body responsible for countering the Indian government's anti-Sikh propaganda campaign worldwide. The membership of the IYSF stands at 80,000, and not the 350,000 figure quoted in the article. The Sikh temples have not been taken over by our organization. It is the will of the community which has selected our members to organize the temples. Finally, the police raid on my house was a baseless move. All guns taken from my house were legally registered hunting weapons which were returned with due respect.

—MAMMOHAN BHAGAT,  
Spokesman,  
International Sikh Youth Federation,  
Mississauga

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's*, c/o Canadian Mutual Bldg, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**RETRIBUTION:** Jean Despres, 74, from his post as mayor of Montreal, a job he held for all but three of the past 28 years—making him the longest-serving mayor of any large North American city. A sweeping Despres announced last week that he will not run in the Nov. 5 election because of failing health, notwithstanding speculation that began last December when he suffered a fractured vertebra in a fall that sidelined him for weeks. In 1982 he broke a hip and suffered a stroke. An automobile figure with a flair for the dramatic, Despres was the driving force behind such world-class events as Expo 67 and the 1976 Summer Olympics as well as municipal achievements such as Montreal's subway system, the major-league baseball team and Place des Arts. While he delighted supporters with his grandiose schemes, Despres infuriated opponents with his high-handed methods and extravagant ways. In a now-famous statement before the Games, he said, "The Olympics can no more have a deficit than a man can have a baby." But Despres' associate Gerald Sappier declared last week, "he will be remembered as our greatest mayor."

**DEED:** Liberal William Taylor, 66, an actor for 19 years and a senator for 11, in Bramford, Ont. First elected in 1978, Taylor served as government whip for Prime Minister Mackenzie King from 1980 to 1985 when he accepted a Senate post. He retired at 76 in 1986.

**WOM:** By movie star Rachel Welch, 45, an \$18.8-million judgment in her lawsuit against the film studio Metro-Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) over her firing from the movie *Come Fly With Me*, an act that she claimed ruined her career; in Los Angeles. The set was paid for \$50 million, concluding that former MGM executive David Begelman, producer Michael Phillips and director David Ward conspired to remove her from the film and replace her with actress Debra Winger. The 1980 movie, based on John Stetson's novel and starring Winger and Nick Nolte, failed at the box office.

**MARRIAGE:** Actor Stacy Keach, 44, the star of TV's *Melrose Place* and *Melrose*, who last year spent six months in a British prison for smuggling cocaine, to Polish actress Micholita Tomasz in Los Angeles.

**DEED:** Lt.-Col. D.V. Corrie, 73, senator-at-large in the House of Commons for 17 years and known in the general public as the man who carried the mace at the opening of daily sessions of Parliament, of a heart attack, in Ottawa.

## Living on tobacco

Your article "The new opposition to public smoking" (*Behaviour*, June 8) left me saddened. The saddest statement of smoking activist Judy Hancock ("When I hear that tobacco farmers are starving, I don't feel sorry for them") exemplifies the cold, clinical attitude displayed toward a group of hardworking, law-abiding people who have suddenly lost control of their lives. Why don't you report on this side of the story? Your article allowed only one paragraph for former Hugh Downs's thoughts. Where are the pictures and words describing the feelings of despair and anguish that are felt here in Delta?

—TALLIE LARSON,  
Delta, Ont.

## Preconceived notions

As I read "The hard times of the land" (*Canada/Special Report*, June 8), and in particular your report on Killarney, Man., I got the distinct feeling that the article was prewritten before my research was even done. I was interested by your correspondence, and I felt through our conversation that it was not supplying the answers he wanted. In the article, all optimistic comments are completely absent. Poor commodity prices will affect everyone in Western Canada, but I doubt Killarney is a typical town is a good example of biased journalism.

—GARY JONES,  
Killarney, Man.

## Wrestling with popularity

In reference to a few disgruntled readers (*Letters*, June 18) who were dissatisfied with "The Hard Sell" (*Cover*, May 15), let me tell you that, as a subscriber to *Maclean's*, I loved the feature on pro wrestling. Sure, it's America, but at least I don't have to buy a wrestling mask to hear about Hulk Hogan, and his fellow heroes. Just about everyone I know is "mad about wrestling," so keep up the good work.

—ARON LORINCZAK,  
Windsor, Ont.

## Needing the facts on toxic waste

Thank you for your excellent coverage of what is surely, next to nuclear war, the greatest threat to man's long-term survival—toxic waste ("Is deadly poison," *Special Report*, May 26). I was shocked to read how Canada lags far behind other countries in terms of using available technology to confront the problem, and deeply disturbed to learn how the government suppressed information regarding the contamination of food when Environment Canada banned Doug Hallett from making that knowledge public.

—LESTER WATKIN,  
Phi, Fla., Man.



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## A hijacking trauma

A full year after the ordeal, U.S. navy diver Clinton Suggs remains deeply disturbed by his encounter with terrorism. On June 11, 1986, Suggs and 150 passengers and crew aboard TWA Flight 847 lifted off from Athens International Airport. What was to have been a two-hour trip to Rome suddenly turned into a 17-day nightmare when two Palestinian gunmen seized the Boeing 727 demanding the release of more than 700 Shrike-Moslem prisoners then being held in Israeli detention camps. At one point, the hijackers beat Suggs and his friend and fellow diver, Robert Stethem. "I thought I was dead," Suggs, 38, recalled recently. "I prayed I asked the Lord to receive me in his arms." The hijackers spared Suggs's life, but they later shot Stethem in the head. Since his release in Beirut on June 30, 1986, Suggs has suffered from severe anxiety over the murder of his comrade. Said Suggs's Canadian-born wife, Chantal: "Clint is a very different person now. It's been a very bad year."

Since the hijacking, other victims

have suffered similar difficulty. Beyond the personal tragedy of the terrorist assault, the TWA incident has also had widespread repercussions internationally. Many experts on terrorism point to the TWA hijacking as the beginning of a series of violent incidents that eventually spurred the Reagan administration into adopting a tough new attitude toward those who supported terrorism. One tangible result was the April bombing of Libya by U.S. armed forces. Declared Robert Kasperman, an authority on terrorism at the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies: "It was the TWA hijacking that got the U.S. government into action on terrorism."

U.S. investigators are still searching for the people responsible for the TWA hijacking. Agency officials say that

the three men—Hassan Mustafa, Mohammed Harameh and Ali Abu—have been seen in Beirut. They are believed to belong to a radical pro-Iranian Shrike group known as *Mfitehah*, or Party of God. Last October the Reagan administration offered a reward of \$250,000 for information leading to the arrest of the three men, officially changing them with air piracy and murder. U.S. justice department officials say that by January, frustrated investigators considered shooting the suspects. Although no action has been taken so far, one state department source said a "kidnaping" of the hijackers is still possible.

The hijacking also led to demands by officials in governments around the world for improved airport safety. Immediately following the hijacking, Hans Krausner, deputy chairman of the International Airline



TWA suspect Abu: airt

Passengers Association (IATA), called on members to avoid airports in the Mediterranean area. Said IATA spokesman Richard Livingston: "The TWA hijacking more than any other incident made the travelling public aware of



Tetsuka being held at gunpoint in Beirut: a difficult psychological journey

terrorism." Then, Reagan administration officials issued an alert to American airlines warning against use of Athens airport. Even before the TWA incident, the airport had gained notoriety for its poor security.

It will be much more difficult to rebuild the emotional lives of the victims of Flight 847. For navy diver Suggs, the psychological journey has been

particularly difficult. A month ago, when navy physicians ruled that he was fit for overseas duty at an undisclosed location, Suggs was terrified of boarding an aircraft. Said wife Chantal: "His bodice had to drag him on to the plane."

Suggs himself says that he survived the hijacking only because the flight purser, Ub Dercksen, stepped between

him and one of the gunmen, shouting, "Enough! Enough!" Retired Suggs, who saved my life. She diverted him." Now flying with TWA again, Dercksen recalled his experience from her New Jersey home. "It has been very hard," she said. "But I think I have adjusted to a normal life."

Now, victims have sought refuge among family and friends, wending the glare of publicity. Some, such as heritage spokeswoman Alice Cornwell and TWA pilot Capt. John Tetsuka have returned abroad. Cornwell, an Ontario-based oil industry saleswoman, has taken up residence abroad, while Tetsuka is flying an undisclosed international route for TWA. But a few, such as 38-year-old Rust Clinton, have made their experience public. Clinton, a roofing contractor who was a major in the army reserve at the time of the hijacking, was beaten for 48 hours during his captivity and nearly died from the assault. He has since published a book about his ordeal. Said Clinton: "I am a trained combat soldier, but I learned that you need something else to survive. It's faith and prayer that keeps you going." But he added, "I don't think you ever get over something like this."

—JARED MITCHELL, with WILLIAM LINTON in Washington and SUSAN SPENCER in Athens

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# PRIDE AND PATRIOTISM

COVER STORY

By Marci McDonald

Like so many immigrants reaching America's shores, she arrived in New York harbor unheralded and scorned. Emerging from the belly of the French naval frigate *Liberty*, she was at first snubbed by the city's bourgeoisie and disdained in a New York Times editorial as "alien." But over a century, the story of the Statue of Liberty has become a metaphor for the progress of the nation itself. She was dispatched in 1885 originally as a tribute to the people of the United States by a freedom-loving French republican named Edouard-Benoit Lefebvre de LaBoeuf. But on the way to her 100th birthday party celebrations this week, the 111-foot "Mother of Exiles," who welcomed the world's tired, poor and "huddled masses yearning to breathe free," has become Americanized herself. In the process, she has emerged as the ultimate icon in a new outpouring of American patriotism.

As the people surrounding the centennial shows, the Statue of Liberty is a capsule of inspiring and in today's guarded high-tech times as it was a century ago, when it was raised as testimony to the engineering brilliance of its age. In the years since, the Lady of Liberty has been glorified and commercialized, promoted as the inspiration for war bond sales and equipped to peddle garbage bags and boxer shorts. Her main torch has embodied the dream of freedom and a fresh start to generations of oppressed immigrants and she has lived to see that dream—like her 30 tons of copper skin—grow scarred and tarnished. Twice the statue has been taken hostage once by antiwar Vietnam veterans in 1971 and six years later by Iranian students.

**PRIDE:** Now, de LaBoeuf's lighthouse madonna embarks on her second century as a product of that distinctly American experiment—the cosmetic make-over (page 16). This week she unveils her \$70-million revamped look in a \$20-million extravaganza that, in its sheer scope and unabashed self-celebration, is uniquely American. With the help of a cast of thousands, the statue's wildly publicized renovation has come to symbolize America's own redefined faith in itself as a nation (page 15).

Some see that new patriotic mood as a natural reaction to the humiliating American fold for two decades over their defeat in Vietnam, the Watergate scandals and the Iranian hostage crisis. Suddenly, the postwar Goliath had found itself humbled both at home and abroad. Its shor-

ted ideals and institutions had been called into question. "There was a sense that this powerful, proud nation had lost its moorings and couldn't control its own destiny any longer," said historian Herman Owsen of Washington's conservative American Enterprise Institute. When Ronald Reagan exhorted the nation to stand tall once more, Americans swapped him with the gratitude of their votes for making it respectable to feel good about the country again.

**REAGAN:** That resurgence of national pride has revived old notions of frontier toughness and unleashed a new wave of machismo rhetoric and aggressive policies which

Growing at the national splendorous are the unpleasant reminders of a 45-per-cent drop in the U.S. share of global gross national product over 30 years, the emergence of the country as the world's major debtor nation last week and the realization that the \$200-billion-plus budget deficit could cripple the dreams of generations to come. Said Charles Dorn, director of Canadian studies at Washington's School for Advanced International Studies: "Patriotism is a kind of entertainment right now—a way of getting away from facts and statistics."

Indeed, Dorn sees Reagan's call to rally sound the flag

termed "the Dreaded Menace" may be one reason why they have been so historically suspicious of patriotism at home. A blowout of unashamed flag waving is regarded as unfilial and the notion of a statue surmounting U.S. identity and aspirations is inconceivable. The nation did not have its own flag until 1908 nor control over its own constitution until four years ago. Said Tom Anagnosty, who holds the chair in Canadian studies at Harvard University: "Canada is a country peculiarly without mythos or heroes. We've been so repulsed that that we're only starting to develop our own mythology now."



Washington's Capitol building: Parliament buildings in Ottawa: a new wave of patriotism.

had their most controversial outlets in the 1983 invasion of Grenada and last April's bombing of Libya. Said Orenstein: "With Reagan came a sense that we're not going to be pushed around anymore by these two big, bad 'third world nations.'"

But Orenstein also sees the strains of the new nationalist fever in Congress's increasing calls for protectionism. That pressure currently endangers Canada's lumber industry and free trade talks with Washington. But the real targets of the "Buy American" TV campaigns are Japan and other developing nations that have knocked U.S. products out of global competition. Said Orenstein: "The way the trade issue has been framed is to play to that patriotism. The Democrats are saying, 'We want America to stand tall on world markets again.'"

Historian Daniel Boorstin, the Librarian of Congress, points out that such outbreaks of boosterism have appeared throughout American history whenever the country felt threatened. Indeed, despite Reagan's belated message and the current health of the U.S. economy, Americans remain uncertain about their long-term economic future.



as a brilliant political stroke. By giving Americans confidence in their country and institutions again, he can win their backing for policies that would otherwise be hard to swallow—namely, a military buildup at the expense of social programs. Said Dorn: "Patriotism is necessary to get that kind of support."

But the results of that diversion are not always as harmless as the gifts of a Liberty Weekend. As veterans of the Second World War remember, unbridled patriotism can sometimes wear an ugly face. Hints of that, in their most basic form, have emerged in the pressure on Reagan for a new immigration policy that would prevent a new generation of foreigners from seeking the American dream—in particular the record numbers of legal and illegal immigrants pouring over the U.S. border with Mexico.

**MYTHS:** Canadians had a taste of patriotism's darker side last year when the U.S. Immigration Service barred author Philip Marlow from American soil—officially because he once threatened to throw down U.S. military planes with a rifle—and baseball fans in New York last fall booed the Canadian national anthem. In fact, Canadianism's constant awareness that at any moment the bostonian giant to the south could turn into what novelist Margaret Atwood has



nation as an entity, affixed, as some see it, with a permanent identity crisis.

**DYNAMO:** Sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset of California's Stanford University blames these origins for producing two distinctly different nationalisms. In a 1988 study of the two countries, Lipset found American nationalism individualistic and innovative—imbued with a sense of their own moral place in history. Canadians were collective and traditional, ready to accept government's authority with moderation and passivity. Agreed American-born historian William Berman of the University of Toronto: "It's very hard to get Canadian nationalism or energized, while I don't know of a country more dynamic or pointing that the United States."

But the patriotic delirium level does not mean Canadians have less affection for their nation. "There's a quiet and deep attachment to the notion of being Canadian," said Dorn. "But Canadians don't think it's push to express it too noisily or brazenly." Still, these differences may have resulted in a perfect recipe for two countries sharing a continent. An American unashamedly indulges themselves in a patriotic spree this week, Canadians can celebrate the national differences which make good neighbors. ☐

# PULSE OF THE HEARTLAND

COVER

*An American prepared for the Status of Liberty celebration in New York and the celebration of national independence on July Fourth, Madison's Senior Writer Bob Levin drove through the U.S. Midwest to take the pulse of the patriotic heartland. The four-day, 800-mile drive along U.S. 40—with stops to talk to dozens of people along the way—stretched west from Wheeling, W. Va. across Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to St. Louis. Mr. Levin's report.*

**E**ven before the Independence Day weekend, American flags were everywhere. They flew from banks, schools, fast-food restaurants, beside white frame houses and a red barn with "Chew Mall Pouch Tobacco" painted across its roadside. There was even one on the shrubbery of Dennis Baker's blue policeman's uniform. In fact, Baker, the 35-year-old deputy marshal of Knightstown, Ind., said that reverence for the flag was so ingrained in him that as a boy, when the local television station would sign off by playing *The Star-Spangled Banner*, he would automatically stand up. Not far down the road, at the national headquarters of the American Legion in Indianapolis, Lee Hardy understands such sentiments. As the Legion's Assistant Director for Americans, his job is to ensure that flags across the country are displayed according to the proper etiquette—for instance, not in bad weather unless an all-weather flag is used. Hardy offers this assessment of the flag's importance: "It's the culmination of the feeling that America is the country in the world."

**Trouma:** That was the message all along. U.S. 40, a road that runs out of the green hills of eastern Ohio to set forth ballads of soybeans and wheat-high corn. At the Knights of Columbus hall in Zanesville, Ohio, a truck driver glanced up from a bottle of Michelob beer to describe America as the best place there is, "and his companion added,

"You tell me we that's better." It is a kind of history of national confidence and pride, one that seems to be rooted less as a boast than as a simple statement of fact. The sentiment has survived such crises as Vietnam, Wa-



tergate and the Iranian hostage crisis. And in Ronald Reagan's America, re-surgent nationalism seems to be rising as fast as hot-air balloons from Hawthorne movies in which Americans breeze not only fix their machines



Hardy (above); Stevenson: 'a country of pacifists and agonists'

but always with Staff Sgt. Glenn Chace, a National Guard recruiter in Indianapolis, said that when he visited schools after the U.S. bombing attack on Libya in April, he was surrounded by students asking, "Are you going to Libya? Can I do that?" In one sense, the region's patriotism

is rooted in the history of U.S. 40 itself, once known as the National Road. The country's first federal highway, it extended some 900 km from Cumberland, Md., to Vandalia, Ill., and carried a steady stream of covered wagons heading west into what was then known as the Northwest Territory. According to turn-of-the-century U.S. historian Frederick Jackson Turner, this settlement process transformed Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, Scots, French and other pioneers into a new, energetic, innovative nationality: the American. "From 1800 to 1850," adds Lorin Porter, a history professor at Muscatine College in New Concord, Ohio, "a spiritual concept of the United States was being born. People began to see it as a place where you could rise to your potential. They really believed the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal."

**Highway:** The National Road's heyday as the "Main Street of America" is long past, and the slicker Interstate 70, which parallels it, now carries the brunt of traffic. But distant parts of the original route are still the core of the area's population, and they are a decidedly American lot. St. Anne Burkhardt's family, originally from the British Isles, came west in the early 1800s. Burkhardt, 48, grew up in Richmond, Ind., and now directs the Wayne County Historical Museum there. But when she lived for two years in Newark, N.J., people repeatedly asked her, "What are you?" Explained Burkhardt: "They wanted to know my ethnic background. But that was very confusing to me. We just think of ourselves as Americans."

Even the area's new immigrants are catching on quickly. Yi Tsung, 19, whose family migrated from Korea four years ago and now runs the Mandarin Gardens restaurant in Richmond, said of his new homeland: "It's a great country. I'm proud of it. Americans will appreciate this grade on July Fourth, the 233rd anniversary of

the signing of the Declaration of Independence, with bursts of fireworks in towns all along U.S. 40. In Cambridge, Ohio, with a population of 12,800, the local American Legion has adopted 8,450 to produce the nation's red, white and blue. But much display of patriotism is evident more than just once a year. Along the old National Road, some courthouse lawns are adorned with statues of tanks and, in front, Ind., with a U.S. Air Force jet. And then there is East Gargantua, Ind., which, during the First World War, lost anyone doubted its patriotism, renamed itself Pershing after American Gen. John Joseph Pershing. Today, as if to please everyone, its various signs read, "East Germantown or Pershing?" During the Vietnam War, however,

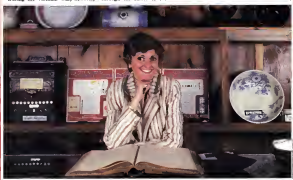
or Leave It' bumper stickers," said Scott, now a writer-photographer for Goodsville's *Daily Reporter*. "It was pretty much of a redneck area." Today's students are clearly a different breed. The change, said Bob McAllister, 55, principal of the sole high school in Vandalia, Ill., has been gradual, and when the school started a Veterans' Day program three years ago he was still skeptical of how students would react. But it proved popular and McAllister concluded, "There seems to be a resurgence of patriotism."

**Dreams:** But while Americans do not hesitate to reaffirm their love of country, some disillusionment remains. It is as though the idealized nation their ancestors hoped and fought for has, through the faults of the American

we've become a country of pacifists and agonists."

Steven Jones has another perspective altogether: A black air force veteran, economics student and minister to the pastor at New North Street African Methodist Episcopal Church in Springfield, Ohio, the 31-year-old Jones said that, despite America's professed adherence to principle, it is too often on the wrong side of world issues. "When you think of the American way," said Jones, "you think of power and might—but you don't necessarily think of what's right."

Being black in America, Jones added, can also be a major obstacle to success—but other blacks disagree. Sitting on her porch across the street from the New North Street church,



Burkhardt of Wayne County Historical Museum; the descendants of the area's original settlers are a decidedly American lot

the patriotism of some American citizens was closely questioned. One former Ohio state trooper from Zanesville couldn't bring himself to help quell antiwar rioting on two Ohio campuses. "Some people forget what patriotism was," said the ex-policeman, 53. "Brimstone were screwed up in the head. They were attempting to tear something down that it took many years to build up. I referred to them as 'screwballs.'" Dave Scott, 34, who as a boy in the 1950s watched white-robed Ku Klux Klan march in his home town of Greenfield, Ind., said the town disappeared of 1960s-style turbulence. "There were a lot of America. Love it

people and their leaders, failed to deliver on all its promises. For Elizabeth Stever, a housewife from Alamogordo, Ill., the country is rife with immorality, rampant divorce and sexualized couples living together. "The United States is said to be a Christian nation," said Borman, 49, and a mother of three children. "But a lot of people don't have the faith in God that our nation was founded on." But Dittus, 67, the owner of a farm equipment company in Tiptonville, Ill., is distressed by the crisis in family farming and by what he sees as the government's too lenient treatment of lawbreakers. Said Dittus: "I think

Linda Hagenbroth, 41, a dramatic employee, said, "The whole system tells everyone—black, white, orange or pink—to be the best you can be. You can be whatever you want in the United States if you really want it." That was, and still is, the American Dream. And whatever its limitations, its message remains powerful and pervasive across the American landscape and the rest of the 50 states. On July Fourth, with flags and fireworks flying and a bumper crop of corn coming up, so one will convince most Midwesterners that there is not, after all, the greatest country in the world. □



# VOICES FROM THE CANADIAN PRAIRIE

COVER

On Thursday, July 1—Canada Day—the nation celebrates the 125th anniversary of Confederation. In search of Canadian patriotism, Maclean's associate editor Peter Kopelman spent five days travelling along the Trans-Canada Highway between Hudson Bay, Man., and Moose Jaw, Sask., talking to ordinary Canadians about their lives—and their feelings for their country. His report.

In the geographical centre of Canada, the rugged northern shield of rocks, forests and lakes melts into miles of actively flat prairie. History seems somehow closer in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, people still talk of grandparents "turning the first sod," as if settlers, arriving along the partially completed railroad, were pushing farther west in search, arrived only yesterday instead of in the late 1800s. And here, where grain elevators loom over the scrubbed streets of prairie towns, a deep sense of Canadian nationalism and pride is woven up in the words of a Grenfell, Sask., woman whose family first came was 190 years old in 2002. "We should fight for what our country stands for," she says, "and the right to voice your opinions."

And along the Trans-Canada, where the fifth parallel often lies no more than 200 km in the south, past fields with their fresh summer stalks of green crops, people also express their pride in Canada as a more tolerant, accommodating society than the United States. "Americans are very individualistic," said Ed Baker, a Richardson, Greenfield of Canada Ltd. stockbroker in Brandon, Man., and a former Canadian Air Force pilot during the Second World War. "Here, we have a feeling

for our fellow man that I don't think is reflected across the way. And I think that we're prepared to pay a little extra for that."

The basis for that tolerance may stem from the history of the Canadian prairie itself, a land and society that has nurtured a mosaic of people from all corners of the globe. Said Winnipeg native Georgina Poirier, 25, a park attendant in Manitoba's Whiteshell Provincial Park near the Ontario border: "People still have touch with their backgrounds. You can't feel pressured to become a Canadian."

**Values:** Indeed, many prairie residents view that lack of pressure to assimilate—and conform to a norm—as paramount. In Winnipeg, in a town of the century brick building that once housed a Bible school, Sapota Kachon, executive director of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, said, "I feel that my being Ukrainian is an integral part of my being Canadian." Added Kachon, 47, whose parents emigrated to Canada after the Second World War: "What defines a Canadian



Southern Manitoba town, prairie traditions

is all the cultural baggage that he has—the ability to be able to hold on to values from the past."

Along the main asphalt artery, many Canadians were astonished people in the nation's cosmopolitan, from the Canadians on the U.S. space shuttle to performers in international sporting events. "It gives me a chance when Canada is mentioned internationally," said Chuck Dunning, 32, assistant treasurer for the town of Virden, Man. One special moment for Dunning: the 1961 Summer Olympics, when Canadian swimmers won 10 medals. In many communities—where Canada Day has traditionally been celebrated with sporting events—athletes have a strong symbolic significance. For John Fletcher, 16, this year's class valedictorian at Arthur Blagden High School in Portage La Prairie, Man., hockey, for one, is a living part of his heritage. His grandfather and his father both played senior league hockey, and when Fletcher begins first-year science studies at the University of Manitoba this fall, he says he hopes to play on the university team. "It's part of the Canadian tradition," he said, "the baseball to the Americans."

**Emblems:** Of course, other, more tangible symbols also stir Canadian emotions. The Peace Tower on Parliament Hill, provincial emblems and the Queen. Yet on the prairie, where the terrain is so flat and empty that a driver on the Trans-Canada can see a

complete 100-car-long freight train—from locomotive to caboose—the land itself is a powerful symbol. "There are few countries in the world that have the vast open spaces that we have," said Brandon, Man., fire inspector Frank Watt, a five-year veteran of the Canadian air force and president of one of the city's two Royal Canadian Legion branches. "It is definitely a Canadian symbol."

**Symbols:** But the overriding focus of Canadian patriotism is the red-and-white maple leaf flag, the subject of rambling debates when the Liberal government of Prime Minister Lester Pearson adopted it in 1965 to replace the Canadian Red Ensign and the British Union Jack. Now, it uncontroversially asserts itself in front of post offices, from flagpoles on the tiny lawns of private homes and on apartment-covers of rents and expanse. From Smith, minister at the Sacred United Church in Moosejaw, Sask., said that because of his United Empire Loyalist background, he "had a loyalty to the British flag." But, he added, "Canada must definitely have the potential and the right to be a country on its own." Now, Smith concludes, the flag is becoming "a symbol of Canadian patriotism."

For others, that transition is already complete. Although Bruce Preston, officer of the weekly World-Speculator in

Moosejaw, insists that he is not a "turning patriot," he is nonetheless one. Monday "I love the flag." First-year University of Manitoba commerce student Daniela Spelto, 18, whose family has farmed the homestead in Crozier, Man., for at least 200 years, declared that the flag "represents that Canada is a distinct entity all its own." And in Moose Jaw, Sask., where the main street is draped with Canadian and provincial flags, public school superintendent Barclay Cant revealed a recent high school assembly during which a Grade 12 student immediately picked up the flag after it had fallen over. Cant later asked the boy why he had reacted that way. The student's response: "We were talking about it over the dinner table, and my dad said we should be more proud of our flag."

In towns and cities sprinkled along the Trans-Canada, this week's celebrations of Canada Day are perhaps the most obvious indication of increasing national consciousness. While some Canadians say that the day holds no special significance, about 30 per cent of Winnipeg's 625,000 people took part in Canada Day events last year. The percentage was even higher in Regina (population 170,000). And Canada Day is also celebrated in many smaller communities—with the aid of federal grants of \$80,000 per province. In Grenfell, Sask., population 1,207, the holiday will be marked this year by five days of events that include a parade, community supper and sporting tournaments. Said Frank Clark of Manitoba's Canada Day Committee: "People are becoming much more aware of the country and getting the idea of celebrating Canada's birthday."

**Patriotism:** At times, day-to-day events intrude into conversation, adding a cutting edge to patriotic sentiments. The free trade debate—and what many regard as the tough U.S. treatment of Canadian—confuses and upsets many prairie residents. The plight of the nation's farmers stirs them to anger. Others, among them Brandon businessman Leroy Collins, owner of the city's Redwood Travelodge motel and a member of a "Pentecostal-style church," contend that the country is becoming weakened because "Christian beliefs are being driven out of the school system." But all seem to share a sense of gratitude that Canada's problems—no matter how serious—in no way compare to the troubles experienced in other parts of the world. Said Grant Allan, a 30-year-old architect in Brandon and the father of two children: "These are just growing pains we're going through."

**Potential:** The image of Canada as a young country still reeling through the years of young and old alike. "We've got a lot of young people," said Hatzikostas, a first-year arts student at the University of Manitoba, whose

Allan, Watt: the land itself is a powerful symbol



Photo: AP/Wide World

Martin: 'we're still in the experimental stage'



family has served for four generations. Delmar Martin, 64, a retired farmer, carpenter and now caretaker of the Port La Prairie Museum and Pioneer Village in Portage in Prairie, values that. "We're still in the experimental stage, still striving to meet our objectives—whatever they are." From his cluttered office, he win see the museum's main dining room filled with the paraphernalia of a Prairie past. But the nation, says Martin, a descendant of loyalists whose family has farmed in Manitoba since the 1880s, is poised for the future. "We're still stretching out, reaching out." ☐



## THE LADY OF LIBERTY

COVER

**W**hen French sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi took on the task of designing a monument to liberty that would be a gift to the American people on the contrary of their independence, he devised a curious sculptural hybrid. While he modeled the statue's face along the lines of his mother's, legend has it that Bartholdi's mistress served as the model for the statue's body. And the July Fourth weekend reopening of the newly refurbished Statue of Liberty promises to provide a similar mix of the sacred and profane. U.S. President Jimmy Carter says some stationers will offer stirring speeches about freedom and the statue's symbolic importance to the immigrants who passed through New York's harbor in the early part of this century. But sharing the stage with them will be 20 tons of fireworks, lights of film and pop music, stars and an extravaganza—according to some critics, vulgar—show that features 800 Elvis Presley lookalikes, 250 hula dancers, 300 fan dancers, 1,000

tap dancers and a 1,500-member drill team.

**Unusually:** And while few doubt that Chrysler Corp. chairman Lee Iacocca—the chief fund raiser for the statue's restoration—will be able to make good his vow that the July 5-6 "Liberty Weekend" will be "the big-

est and freest. They also point to an uneasy war between the country's two main television networks for profits from coverage of the four-day affair.

There was little doubt that the statue was in dire need of repair. In 1980 a French study showed that time, the elements and acid rain had damaged the statue's skin. 22 tons of copper peeled in Norway. But the monument's interior was in worse condition. The supporting structure—designed by Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel, architect of the Paris tower bearing his name—was sagging and weakened by heavy rusting. Said Edward Cohen, a managing partner of Kaufmann & Whitney, the consulting engineers who were eventually responsible for the project: "We just couldn't buy her a new dress and ask on some new makeup. We had to fix her internal problems."

A French-American study first estimated the bill for internal repairs at \$15 million (U.S.); but the final cost was \$70 million—\$996 million for the entire Statue of Liberty-Ella Island restoration. The U.S. National Park

Service, which administers the landmark, lacked the funds, and Iacocca—the son of Fiat's chairman and the man who saved Chrysler Corp. from bankruptcy—offered his services and took charge. He proposed not only to restore the statue in time for its centennial but also to revamp some of the shabby buildings on nearby Ellis Island—the U.S. immigration center that was used to process people designated as lower class in the first part of the century.

**Shrine:** But one aspect of fund-raising—the plan to raise 30 per cent of the total funds through 31 private companies enlisted as sponsors—has been dogged by controversy. *The Nation*, a weekly magazine based in New York, also revealed in November, 1980, that one such sponsor, Coca-Cola, was given exclusive soft drink rights for the snack bar on Liberty Island where the statue sits and that American Express, another sponsor, was promised that it would share the island with others for private parties. Other firms paid to preserve a range of official Liberty products, including a \$50,000 "special edition" Harley Davidson motorcycle and two-bikegram drums of "Liberty" pretzels that cost \$28 each. The Nation said it is the place that such corporate arrangements were evidence of a corporate takeover of a national shrine.

In February U.S. Secretary of the Interior Donald Hodel, whose department includes the parks service, fired

Iacocca as head of the Centennial Commission citing "potential conflicts of interest." Iacocca angrily declared that Hodel's action was "un-American." In fact, Iacocca is apoplectic about his role in the patriotic pageant, and even his detractors credit him for the winning sums he raised. He admits there has been a "public, ornate and not so far reaching for the Liberty project but insists "we will all be very, very proud this summer."

Commercial use of the monument many Americans call "Lady Liberty" is far from new. Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the New York World and a Hungarian immigrant, had asked natives when he publicly appealed for funds for construction of the granite-and-concrete pedestal on which to erect the statue that finally arrived from France in 1885. Pulitzer's biographer, W.A. Swenson, noted that his "reverence for liberty was as powerful as his desire for circulation." But on the gloomy day of Oct. 28, 1886—surrounded by fireworks and ships chartered by Macy's—the statue was finally unveiled. The newspaper continued to read readers of its part in the affair for many years afterward—and despite the opposition of rival newspaper publishers—an engraving of the Statue of Liberty was used on the paper's masthead.

A century later the television networks are doing battle on the same ground. The American Broadcasting Co. (ABC-TV) paid an estimated \$9 million for the exclusive rights to broadcast the Liberty weekend show and expects to receive \$30 million in advertising revenue during 17 hours of

coverage. As head of the Centennial Commission citing "potential conflicts of interest," Iacocca angrily declared that Hodel's action was "un-American." In fact, Iacocca is apoplectic about his role in the patriotic pageant, and even his detractors credit him for the winning sums he raised. He admits there has been a "public, ornate and not so far reaching for the Liberty project but insists "we will all be very, very proud this summer."

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Statue devotees: an 'American side' to fund-raising

coverage. The show's stars include U.S. President Ronald Reagan and U.S. Chief Justice Warren Burger, who will appear in some 16,000 new U.S. citizens in four cities on satellite. Producers

in an 1883 fund-raising venture, inspired Emma Lazarus's sonnet: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." One of the avowed travelers was called Hankins with a Mackinac Island who, on arriving in New York in 1906, wrote vividly of the lady torch "so tightly gripped in her hand... [that] the bright flame, delving from the grey smoke and bathing all around in fierce and joyous light." Gorky's vivid depiction of the statue's flame, on being, is a simple and an imaginative of such words as are those who came to her shores seeking citizenship—and a place to breathe.

—IAN KURTIN in New York

# A tough week and a welcome recess

**P**arliament's annual two-month-long summer recess could not have come soon enough for Brian Mulroney. For days, newspaper columns in the country had featured stories about the Prime Minister's extravagant spending habits on foreign trips—including \$1,200-a-night hotel rates in New York City. Then, the U.S. International Trade Commission ruled that imports of Canadian lumber were hurting American lumbermen. The decision, widely expected to lead to substantial tariffs on Canadian softwood lumber, signaled a new threat to the Conservative government's free trade initiative with the United States. But perhaps the cruelest blow was delivered at week's end as the 33rd Parliament formally adjourned. A public opinion poll conducted by Winnipeg's Angus Reid Associates Inc. showed Mulroney's Conservatives trailing the opposition Liberals 28 to 21 per cent—a seven percentage-point decline for the Tories in a month. Concluded Reid, "Clearly, Brian Mulroney has alienated a large percentage of Canadian voters."

In the Prime Minister's Office, aides said privately that they feared Mulroney would be perceived as a "big spender," despite his repeated calls for restraint in government spending. And such perceptions would only add to Mulroney's lingering credibility problems, which began last fall with the Ottawa train affair and escalated after three ministers resigned.

The end poll of 1,633 adults across the country was even worse for Mulroney personally. Only 38 per cent of those polled said they approved of Mulroney's performance, compared with 28 per cent for Liberal leader John Turner and an impressive 69 per cent for New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent. In Mulroney's home province of Quebec, the poll set Tory support at 20 per cent—28 per cent behind the Liberals—and found the public generally unhappy with the government's handling of everything from controlling expenditures to job creation. Liberals were plainly delighted with the Prime Minister's discomfiture. Said Mr. Douglas Frith, "This is going to be Mulroney's summer of discontent."

The rec decision affirmed the claims

of various U.S. interests that Canadian exports of softwood lumber—about \$2.5 billion in 1988—had hurt America's domestic industry. With the five-member panel's unanimous vote, the

politicians are playing games with it." Mulroney's image problem was expected to be high on the agenda this week as the cabinet's powerful position and planning committee meets in Saskatoon to develop strategy for the fall session of Parliament. Shortly before flying to Saskatoon, Government House Leader Ray Hnatyshyn conceded that they confronted often overblown, the government's legislative achievements. Said Hnatyshyn, "The real work of the Commons has been woefully overlooked."

Indeed, the Commons has passed about 180 bills since the Tories came to



Mulroney greets visitors on Parliament Hill last week; a summer of discontent

U.S. commerce department will now rule on whether the damage stems from the lost stumpage—or cuttings—from that Canadian lumbermen pay to provincial and federal governments. These fees, U.S. logjacks contend, amount to a subsidy, giving Canadian exports an unfair advantage. If the commerce department agrees, a new duty—at a projected cost to Canadians of \$1 billion—may be levied. And any tariff would inevitably renew concern about Ottawa's efforts to reach a free trade agreement with Washington. Public support for the initiative, some advocates fear, is already slipping. Said John Hailan, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, "We have a difficult educational job ahead of us. The

power in September, 1984, about 30 more than the last Liberal government enacted in the equivalent period. Among the major Conservative pieces of legislation passed during the past 16 months were a dampener on lobbying by profitless, compensation-free depositors in two failed Alberta banks, controls on the mergers of large corporations and several energy bills that helped dismantle the Liberals' controversial national energy program.

There was also a blizzard of paper activity last week as new, cabinet ministers and Commons committees attempted to clear their desks before the summer recess. Transport Minister Don Mazankowski tabled long-awaited legislation that would deregulate much of the transportation industry. House

Leader Hnatyshyn produced a policy paper on electoral reform containing proposals to control the publication of public opinion polls during federal election campaigns. The Senate Commons committee on institutional relations tabled an exhaustive review of Canada's foreign policy, including a suggestion that Ottawa begin talks with the maligned African National Congress to help end apartheid in South Africa. And the Commons Finance and economic affairs committee called for new restrictions on ownership of financial institutions.

Still, several key issues remained unresolved, including draft legislation dealing with attempts to control pornography, the dismantling of Canamco, the agricultural marketing board, and various initiatives designed to help the faltering energy and agricultural sectors. Those bills would automatically die on the order paper if Mulroney prorogues Parliament in September, as expected, and immediately begins a new session with a throne speech.

Inevitably, free trade will continue to be the centrepiece of the government's fall message strategy. But the government is likely to confront other controversial issues as well, including long-awaited legislation that would control production of oil-gasoline generic drugs, possibly increasing the cost of prescriptions for consumers. Finance Minister Michael Wilson has promised a review of all the government's social programs, a step the opposition parties say could hurt the poor. And Mulroney has promised, before the next federal election, to persuade Quebec to sign the Constitution endorsed in 1982 by the other nine provinces.

A long-term cabinet shuffle was also expected, perhaps as early as this week. Among the possible changes: the retirement of Deputy Prime Minister Erik Nielsen from the Commons. The Prime Minister's aides no longer deny that Nielsen's absence with anxiety, but they deny controversy. And, reportedly, his desire to slash government programs have put the government. Conceded Tory Mr. Stan Gilling, "Nielsen sends shivers up people's backs when he talks about streamlining." Added one source close to Mulroney, "Breezy is one thing, but Erik is an acronym he won't even tell you the time of day." Nielsen himself is said to have told friends he is ready to resign. Said one Conservative senator, "I'd add one word to his list of wishes for some time." On the basis of last week's polls, Nielsen may have chosen the right time to go.

—PAUL GIBBELL and HELEN MCKENZIE in Ottawa



OMA executives Neilson and Morav rejecting the government's overtures of peace

## A refusal to surrender

**D**r. Robert McMillin said that he felt better than he had in weeks. After 13 days of denying treatment to his own patients and turning others away from the emergency ward of Toronto's Humber Memorial Hospital, the head of staff voted with the board of governors to reopen its doors. Said McMillin, "Doctors were under a lot of stress sending people away. That's not what we are here for." For 48 hours later, the hospital reversed course—opting to close its emergency ward as a rotating basis.

In fact, as the indefinite strike by Ontario doctors entered its third week, the medical community seemed increasingly divided. A growing number of practitioners said that they could no longer justify putting their patients at risk. Many physicians returned to work and called for an end to the strike, which included restricting admissions at 10 hospitals. Decried McMillin, "It's a tragedy."

But spokesmen for the 15,000-member Ontario Medical Association (OMA) vowed to continue the strike, despite a warning from the doctors' governing body, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, that a withdrawal of all services could result in misconduct charges. The OMA said that they would end their action only if Premier David Peterson's Liberal government withdrew, amended or suspended new legislation that bans extra billing—charging patients more than government-approved rates. After an emergency

meeting of the 250-member council, OMA president Dr. Richard Roddes denied that support for the strike was faltering. "We have the absolute attention of the public, and we hope the result will be pressure on the government to act."

Peterson refused to alter as delay the implementation of the bill, which calls for a maximum fee of \$1,000. But in response to the OMA's repeated claims that the ban was the first step toward total government control over the health care system, the government offered to revise a resolution to help ensure that occupational freedoms were guaranteed. "The OMA has always said this fight was about liberty and freedoms," said Peterson. "We are happy to discuss them in any forum they would like." Roddes swiftly dismissed the offer as unacceptable.

The protracted dispute with the doctors clouded the last anniversary of Peterson's government, which ended Ontario's 42-year Conservative dynasty last June. But the long Liberal honeymoon ended last week when two cabinet ministers resigned amid reports of alleged conflicts of interest. And while public support was firmly on Peterson's side—a Globe and Mail poll reported that 77 per cent opposed the strike—union risks remained. Said OMA secretary Dr. Edward Morav, "The longer the strike continues, the greater the hazard."

—GREGG ARKINHEAD in Toronto



The  
black carpet  
treatment  
or...



Douglas (last) Smith on Vancouver radio talk show, an unexpected twist

## The Sacred horse race

The cast of contenders spans the political spectrum from current and two former Social Credit cabinet ministers, two backbench MLAs, two former aides to retiring Premier William Bennett, one Progressive Conservative MP—and even one Liberal mayor, Bessie's Mel Conacher. In public meetings across the province the candidates appear friendly and collegial. But behind closed doors a bitter struggle is being waged for the seal of the Social Credit party. And the stakes are high. The winner of the July 28-30 leadership convention in Whistler, B.C., will instantly become not only party leader but premier of British Columbia.

With a sixth to go, an clear frontrunner has emerged from the drizzle pack of 12 candidates. But the race to succeed Bennett has become a divisive contest between party insiders and outsiders. Already, an unofficial coalition of old-line Socialists is shaping up to stop the upstart campaign of Douglas (Bud) Smith, a 46-year-old Kamloops lawyer. Largely unknown outside the party, Smith worked on Bennett's election campaign of 1980 and served as his principal secretary for two years before resigning—in anticipation of a forthcoming election—to run as a Social candidate in Kamloops. The brains behind Smith's leadership campaign is Tory John Laschinger, a veteran strategist of Ontario's Big Blue Machine. But Laschinger is only the

most recent of a series of political imports from Eastern Canada who dominate Social policy and decision-making, alienating many party loyalists. Since 1981, Bennett's Ontario-based advisors have included deputy minister Patrick Kinella, principal secretary Jerry Laupont and deputy minister Norman Spector.

Within the ranks, party loyalists say that Bennett's May 22 resignation announcement—and his call for "newness"—was an indirect snubbing of Bud Smith. That perception has caused an open revolt among many of Bennett's longtime supporters in caucus and cabinet, some of whom have been Bennett's closest allies. He was first elected in 1972. Bud Michie of Herman Resources Ltd. Nielsen, himself a leadership candidate. "I didn't shovel shit in the stables for 10 years to have someone else come in and ride the pony."

The leader of the anti-Eastern alliance, dubbed "Bud Busters," is 36-year-old Grace McCarthy, now provincial secretary and the grand dame of Social Credit politics. A junior minister in the cabinet of the premier's father, W.A.C. Bennett, McCarthy backed Bill Bennett's 1973 leadership campaign, and when the Socialists replaced the New Democrats in 1975 Bennett made her deputy premier. But in 1980 he stripped McCarthy of her title and began relying increasingly on his high-priced, out-of-province advisers.

The final humiliation came when Bennett sent chief aide Laupont to inform the cabinet of his decision to resign just minutes before he announced it publicly. "I don't believe in nominated officials leading the party," said McCarthy recently. "That power should never be placed in someone who has never sought the electorate's approval. My support competition is the big question: the Social who think they can come in here and create an image of what they think is the best thing for the party. That kind of arrogance the party does not need."



McCarthy: a fight against the Big Blue Machine

Other candidates are equally opposed to Bennett's style of government and are seeking grassroots support. Among them:

• Former minister William Van der Zanden, 52, a wealthy businessman who owns the \$7-million Fantasy Garden World (amusement park) outside Vancouver. A charismatic populist, Van der Zanden spent eight years in provincial government before taking a sabbatical in 1980.

• MLA John Reynolds, 44, a West Vancouver businessman and former open-line radio show host. Once a Tory, Reynolds became one of the best campaign machines, and for the past three years has been shoring up dis-

pute support. Like many others in the race, his main target is Smith and the Big Blue Machine. Said Reynolds: "They're not sustainable."

• Former energy minister Stephen Rogers. At 44, Rogers is the youngest elected official in the race. According to party insiders, he has been plotting a run for the leadership for years. A commercial pilot and the son of a Vancouver island barman, Rogers has been plotting himself and longtime cabinet friends into remote parts of the province to woo delegates. But earlier this year Rogers resigned from the cabinet amid charges of failing to disclose his financial holdings, as required by provincial law. Pleading policy, he received an absolute discharge but was not taken back into the cabinet.

• Attorney General Brian Smith, 52, a ramped, silver-haired lawyer with a clean record in government. But in his 1980 campaign, he was backed by the Big Blue Machine—contrary to Kinella's belief with Bud Smith's candidacy. Although not retired, they have been dubbed "The Smith Brothers." Still, Brian Smith insists: "I am my own candidate. Not anybody's backup."

In the event of a stalemate, federal Tory MP Robert Weisman could emerge as a compromise winner. In contrast to the Big Blue Machine, Weisman's campaign calls themselves "The Little Green Machine." A former MLA from 1966-72, Weisman has roots in both camps and acknowledges his unique position in the race. "I'm both an insider and an outsider."

Each of the 10 provincial ridings will choose its delegate by July 9. Then, the real work of the campaign will begin—building a position to challenge the leadership of a party by anyone but Bennett. During that period, the party has been a precarious alliance of Liberals and Conservatives—banded together for the express purpose of keeping the New Democratic Party out of power. A divisive leadership race could cause rifts that might affect British Columbia for decades to come. But if the party manages to heal its divisions, the political outlook may be more promising. Said candidate Reynolds: "After this thing, selling yourself to the province will be easy."

—JANE OPERA with TRAVIS LUCKOW in Vancouver and SED TAULER in Victoria



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# The new unity of Turner's Liberals

When Parliament adjourned for the summer recess a year ago, Opposition leader John Turner found a highly uncertain political future. The party, then in power, was believed in the polls, the caucus was divided and there were persistent rumors that he would have to give up the leadership. But last week, as the Commons adjourned for the regular break, a re-emergent Turner was busily directing a newly unified Liberal party in its attacks on the governing Tories. Declared a senior aide to the leader, "I think John Turner has had one of the best months since I've been working with him."

There were several clear reasons for the new mood of optimism among Turner and the Liberals. For one thing, Turner—after a long delay—spelled out his party's position on a free trade agreement with the United States. Then, he surprised Quebec nationalists with a detailed and precise response to Premier Robert Bourassa's constitutional demands. And with the Liberals were percentage voters ahead of the Progressive Conservatives in an Angus Reid Associates Inc. poll conducted last week, the cautious whippers—at least temporarily—have been mollified.

Using the television time provided to him after Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's June 18 speech to the media on the issue, Turner declared: "The Liberals cannot support the Mulroney trade initiative." Instead, he said, the party favored lowering trade barriers "on a worldwide basis, while setting up a special tribunal to resolve specific trade disputes with the United States. Turner solved two key problems when he ended the lingering confusion over his party's trade position. His televised statement, and a subsequent address to Ottawa's Board of Trade, forced the Conservatives to drop the charge that the Liberals were afraid of taking a firm stand. At the same time, Turner converted criticism that he was unable to control those members of his caucus led by former cabinet minister Donald Johnston—who publicly favored a comprehensive trade accord with the United States.

In fact, Turner had made a similar appeal for a multilateral trade strategy after a little-noticed special caucus meeting last January. But conflicting public statements by Liberal Mrs. Claude the official party position. And Turner: "The position I outlined to the Ottawa Board of Trade carries the full

weight of our caucus." Still, a senior Liberal aide told Maclean's there had been "one hell of a discussion" in caucus before a consensus was reached. But, the aide added, "the feeling now is that Turner is in control and the free trade issue."

Turner also won praise from French-language editorialists—and surprised many of Mulroney's Quebec strategists—with his decisive stance on Quebec's



Turner in Ottawa last week's decisive

bec's constitutional demands. In an extended interview earlier this month with the editorial board of the Montreal newspaper Le Devoir, Turner unexpectedly produced a detailed set of responses that met most of the conditions which Bourassa has said must be met before he signs the Canadian constitution. Turner's position represents a sharp departure from former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's

hard-line nationalist policies. Turner would formally recognize Quebec as a distinct society, share federal control over immigration, give the provinces a veto over changes to federal institutions such as the Supreme Court and within the provisions in the Constitution dealing with minority education rights.

Liberal advisers told Maclean's that Turner's new, decisive position had been designed largely by Liberal senior Michael Kirby and Quebec caucus chairman Raymond Gauthier. In late April Turner selected Kirby, an industrial former member of Trudeau's staff, and Gauthier, a former Quebec leader, member and veteran of provincial politics, as co-chairmen of his election-readiness committee. Said a top Liberal strategist, "It is not accidental that the statements on trade and the constitution emerged subsequent to that." Gauthier helped to shape a constitutional strategy that would put Mulroney on the defensive and improve Turner's consistently disappointing personal popularity in Quebec opinion polls. The unveiling of the constitutional package during Turner's session at Le Devoir was also timed to emerge immediately before an important meeting outside Montreal of the party's Quebec wing on June 14 and 15. Still, for most Quebecers, Turner remains a liability to the party according to the Reid poll, only one-third of Quebecers approve of his performance as opposition leader.

Leaders also acknowledged that confidence in the Liberal position on free trade was becoming a political handicap, despite a pledge by Turner that important policy decisions should not be made until grassroots Liberal members had been given a chance to debate them at the party's convention in November. Said one influential Liberal: "With the job the media were doing on us on free trade, it was clear we had to do something fast."

Turner himself appeared relaxed and upbeat last week. And influential party workers said that they are now convinced that he will easily win a critical vote on his leadership at the November convention. Said one "Barney" collapse in the polls. Turner is now. "With no apparent organized threat from his former leadership rival Jean Chretien and the slipping popularity of the Mulroney government, Turner said, "Every year gets a little better."

—MICHAEL BIRSE in Ottawa

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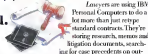
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# Round 1 to Reagan



Contras smuggling weapons, the President (below) sends deals, a congressional breakthrough and increased tensions

For the past three months President Ronald Reagan's Central American initiative—one of the key elements of his administration's foreign policy—appeared to be in danger. Despite his intensive lobbying, the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives had turned down his request last March for \$500 million in military aid, and what he called "humanitarian aid" to anti-communist guerrillas, and to the Nicaraguan rebels, commonly known as the contras. Many observers declared that Reagan had lost his political magic and was heading for a major foreign policy humiliation. But in a stunning turnaround last week the House—after a stormy late-night debate—voted by the surprisingly wide margin of 228 to 209 to endorse Reagan's full \$500-million request.

The payments, in three installments, include \$70 million in military aid to begin July 1. The bill now goes to the Senate where administration officials expect that it will pass. In Las Vegas, where he stopped to deliver a speech on the way to a vacation in his California ranch, Reagan declared, "It's only Ronald I—but boy oh boy, what a round."

What made the House vote particularly surprising was the recent controversy surrounding the anti-Sandinistas

forces, which Reagan describes as "freedom fighters." Since last March three congressional committees have begun investigating charges of contra smuggling, drug smuggling and gunrunning. And earlier this month congressional investigators declared that contra forces had diverted millions of dollars from last year's \$227 million in humanitarian aid to anti-communist guerrillas. Top Republican army officers and Irishmen bunks.

Some analysts credit Reagan's own intensive lobbying for obtaining the House victory. After the measure's defeat three months ago, White House officials targeted a small group of so-called swing voters, asking what they needed in their constituencies. But the turnaround in their position appeared to have happened only in the last two days before the vote when the President himself began making a series of personal calls to Capitol Hill—calls that culminated even from Air Force One in Reagan's way to Las Vegas—and

the debate raged in the House.

There was little indication of what future White House officials had developed in congressional back rooms. But lobbyists on Capitol Hill noted that four of the six Democrats who changed their votes were on the House armed services committee, whose members have traditionally benefited from government-approved defense installations in their constituencies. And some insiders said that there were other motives as well. One well-informed opponent of the contras said, "Congressional aides told me that trafficking in new past allies was taking place at a record volume." Said James Morrell, a spokesman of the Washington-based Liberal Center for International Policy: "Some people may look at this as a great victory for Reagan. But with all the money and power the executive branch has at its disposal, it took him three months to win seven votes."

There have also been other shifts in the contra aid debate. Earlier this



month, after misreading their own self-imposed June 6 deadline, Nicaragua and its four neighbors—Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador and Panama—reached agreement on a new draft of the so-called Contadora peace treaty for Central America. The treaty would have required as aid to U.S. support for the contras and would have banned U.S. military arms and training from El Salvador. As well, the plan would have placed strict limits on the size of U.S. military maneuvers in the region. But last week three of the Central American countries, which had previously endorsed the treaty—Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras—suddenly reversed their position. Opponents of contra aid charge that Washington undercut the treaty by offering the governments increased aid and easier credit terms as their massive foreign debts, in return for their action.

As well as supplying funds for the contras, last week's bill provided \$300 million in additional economic assistance for the four Central American countries—\$75 million each. Said Larry Bana, director of the liberal Council on Hemispheric Affairs: "What the United States did was buy the subversion of the Central American countries."

At week's end, the International Court of Justice in The Hague ruled that U.S. support for the contras was illegal. The Nicaraguans took their case to the court after the discovery that the CIA had secretly paid over \$100 million to the contras. El Partido Bate spokesman for the Reagan administration have already said that they would ignore the ruling. Meanwhile, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Manuel Antonio Somoza said that U.S. aid to the contra forces was linked to an escalation of the Central American conflict. Said Somoza: "It really makes greater the prospect of direct U.S. intervention."

To make that prospect threat, Nicaragua is expected to receive increased Soviet arms shipments and to augment its own defense expenditures, already 50 per cent of its budget. That, in turn, would create further economic hardship and unrest—providing increased government revenues. Indeed, already last week the Sandinistas closed down the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* and laughed the state of emergency. Some experts predict that the White House could see a similar situation in Nicaragua if military intervention. That would defeat the very purpose of last week's vote, which many congressmen say is a way of avoiding direct U.S. involvement in Nicaragua.

—HAROLD MCGRATH in Washington



U.S. border guard with illegal Mexican immigrants; undermining Contadora

MEXICO

## Continuing an offensive

When President Ronald Reagan de la Madrid last met six months ago, they professed mutual understanding and harmony. But since then, Washington officials have repeatedly characterized Mexico's government as corrupt and its economy as weakening. U.S. government spokesmen have also threatened to impose tighter controls on Mexican goods and citizens crossing the U.S. border. Then, last week an assumed U.S. official attacked Mexico's opposition to Reagan's policies toward the Marxist government of Nicaragua and its support for the rebel contras. In fact, the official added, the Mexican foreign ministry was "a player of the left."

Some American observers said that the Reagan administration is bringing pressure to bear on Mexico and other Latin American countries because of their involvement in the four-member Contadora group and its attempt to achieve peaceful solutions to war-torn Central America. "Quite simply," said David MacMichael, a senior fellow of the liberal Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs, "the Reagan administration doesn't want a settlement that they don't dictate." MacMichael pointed to similar recent attacks by Washington on Panama's military ruler, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, who has also refused to support U.S. policy on Central America. Declared MacMichael: "These things are being said about Mexico and Panama as part

of the general campaign to discredit the Contadora process." He added that the White House finds the Contadora approach dangerous because one of its provisions is the "elimination from Central American soil of any irregular forces—that is, the contras."

In the latest offensive against Mexico, Attorney General Edwin Meese changed that illegal immigration, border violence and drug smuggling constitute a "serious social and foreign policy threat to the United States." A U.S. treasury official added that a "massive, massive increase in spending on border law enforcement was 'inevitable.' Mexico's Foreign Minister Fernando Segovia says that the border traffic provides an important source of funds for the country, burdened with a foreign debt of \$182 billion. He claimed that "zones of darkness" in the United States "proposed to build a high fence only after they themselves were able to enter and become a part of the nation of immigrants."

At week's end, Washington officials said that the White House plans to invite the Mexican president to an August meeting in California with Reagan. They said that the meeting is intended to resolve a situation that had become "very touchy." Added an administration spokesman: "Dealing with them is like strapping a porcupine. It is best done carefully."

—GLENN ALLEN in Toronto with correspondence  
REPORTS





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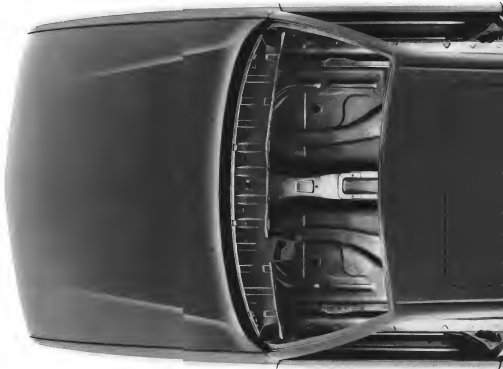
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Chirac (left), Mitterrand, abhors in a political marriage of convenience



FRANCE

## A path divided

They will wear their best wedding-promise smiles and they both insist that their marriage of convenience is working. But 100 days after a coalition of rightist parties defeated the ruling Socialists in parliamentary elections, there are signs that France's Socialist President, François Mitterrand and conservative Prime Minister Jacques Chirac are becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the arrangement. So far, the government has managed to function fairly effectively under what the French call political "cohabitation." But Mitterrand has clearly expressed his displeasure over some conservative initiatives. He has been particularly vocal in his opposition to a recent Chirac plan to grant more autonomy to the native Kanak population in the French South Pacific territory of New Caledonia. The president declared that "renouncing [Socialist] promises" would be dangerous, and could erode "feelings of justice among Melanesians."

Since the March 16 election, Chirac—whose coalition has a three-seat majority—has pushed through a bill to allow the government to sell off state-owned companies and banks by decree. He has also reversed electoral reforms introduced by the Socialists, and he says that he will sell off the almost 400 government-owned television stations. As well, the prime minister has proposed allowing employers to fire workers without first getting approval from official boards.

Those measures have clearly challenged the Socialist president's beliefs. Still, Mitterrand has not formally stated that he will permit the government to carry out its mandate. And although the president has the power to dissolve Parliament, analysts say that it is unlikely that the Socialists would make any significant gains in new elections. Mitterrand—who according to opinion polls has the support of 58 per cent of French voters—can also force an early presidential election by resigning before his term expires in 1995. But political observers say that waiting provides Mitterrand with time to rebuild the party and to take advantage of already evident rifts in Chirac's coalition.

It also seems to be in Chirac's interest to continue cohabitation. The prime minister has made no secret of his presidential aspirations, and he needs time to increase his stature as prime minister. As well, both men may be constrained by the most powerful consideration of all: public opinion. Recent polls have indicated that a majority of voters want cohabitation to continue until Mitterrand's term of office expires. Said Jerome Joffe, director of Sofres, the country's biggest polling firm: "The French don't want another election, right now. But even more, they like to see the narrowing of the left-right gap that has traditionally dominated French politics."

—FRANÇOIS JANSSEN in Paris

PERU

## A climate of fear

After rule by the Peruvian military for 12 of the past 16 years, the election of civilian President Alan García Pizarro last July introduced a new era of hope and democracy in the troubled South American country. Then, on June 20 military and police forces crushed protests in three Peruvian prisons, killing at least 450 inmates belonging to the Maoist guerrilla Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) group. Last week, as the magnitude of human rights violations during the attacks became clear, García suffered a severe blow to the prestige and integrity of his 11-month-old government. Opposition Senator Javier Diez Canseco charged that the military had executed 60 inmates at La Esperanza prison. Said one western diplomat in Lima: "García always said, 'I will not fight barbarians with barbarism.' His credibility as one who defends civil liberties has taken a terrible beating."

Following the attacks, the United Left opposition coalition denounced García for not pursuing a peaceful solution to the prison standoff. Said the opposition: "The outcome of this barbarous action will not be pacification. It will only lead the spiraling violence." Meanwhile, as Peruvian marines searched for more bodies last week in the ruins left by rocket and anti-aircraft missile strikes on the island prison of El Frontón, a series of bombs struck the capital of Lima. Seven people were killed and 39 others were injured when a bomb exploded in a train carrying tourists to the ancient ruins of Machu Picchu in the Andes.

Still, a poll last week in the Lima daily El Comercio showed that 70 per cent of city residents approved the use of military force as the president. Said one government official: "It is an indication of the extent to which people are afraid of the Sendero Luminoso that they would actually approve of a massacre." In a television speech, García said that he had ordered the arrest of about 95 members of the paramilitary Guardia Republicana for their part in the attacks. He did not mention the army or the marines, who also suppressed the protests. Said a senior political analyst: "We've got a 31-year-old left, no previous political experience and the hands of the military lapping around him. He's scared."

—KATHRYN LINGER in Lima

## IRELAND

## Remembering the dead



Clark: 'no rest'

They came to the tiny Irish seaside village of Ashfield to honor their dead, wounded, memories and pray. One year after Air-India Flight 182 plunged into the Atlantic Ocean 130 miles southwest of Ireland, relatives of the 309 victims—most of them Canadians—gathered last week for an emotional memorial service among the rolling hills of County Cork. There, foreign ministers from Canada, India and Ireland eulogized the dead

and comforted their grief-stricken families. Declared Canada's Joe Clark, "Our governments will not rest until we find the causes and bring to justice those who are responsible." Children from the Sikh extremist group claimed to have placed a bomb on the Indian jet, but police have not had charges directly tied to the crash. After the speeches, 14 bronze plaques with the names of the victims were unveiled. Then, following denominational prayers for the dead, the mourners walked down to the sea and quietly soaked offerings of rose petals, candles and wreaths to the outgoing tide.

## ISRAEL

## A widening scandal

In a controversial ruling, Israeli President Chaim Herzog last week granted immunity from prosecution to Ariel Sharon, the chief of the domestic intelligence agency Shin Bet, in return for his resignation. Sharon was the subject of a police investigation into the 1984 beating deaths of two captured Palestinians Ben Hamein and Abu Jihad. General Yitzhak Rabin before he resigned last month. His replacement, Yosef Harel, said that Sharon's resignation removes the need for an investigation into Shin Bet's role in the deaths. But some Israeli politicians said that Harel was avoiding an inquiry because it might expose information embarrassing to the labor-led coalition government—including Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who was prime minister at the time of the killings. Said left-wing parliamentarian Moshe Shalev of the Knesset Daily: "Until all these matters are investigated this affair will not disappear. It is a black day for Israel."

## VIETNAM

## Sailing to freedom

Eleven years after the fall of Saigon and the end of America's bitter Asian war, the leaders of the new unified Vietnam preside over a nation in which scarcity, disease and forced labor are commonplace. In the capital of Hanoi children beg in the streets, and the average annual income is about \$200 (U.S.) per person, one of the lowest in the world. Younger leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party speak eagerly of forging closer ties with their former enemy, the United States. But the aged and infirm top leaders of government—80-year-old Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and President Truong Chinh, 78—seem unlikely to ask for U.S. assistance.

That is partly because Washington is insisting that Vietnam end its military activities in neighboring Cambodia and help American investigators trace the fate of 1,600 American servicemen still listed as missing in action in the war. Meanwhile, hundreds of Vietnamese continue to flee from the country each year in battered seeping rafts. Last week the West German vessel *Cap Arcona* it picked up 120 so-called boat people they found in open crafts in the South China Sea. The province of Quebec readily agreed to accept some of them as immigrants.

## PARAGUAY

## A show of force

Paraguay's iron-fisted ruler Alfredo Stroessner, the longest-serving dictator in Latin America with 33 years in office, showed once again last week that he is prepared to use his loyal security forces to quell any sign of opposition. Although domestic and foreign critics have recently attacked Stroessner for his corrupt, tyrannical form of government, his police attacked leftist opposition leader Demio Lainez as he made his fifth attempt to return home. Said former U.S. ambassador to Paraguay Robert White, who escorted Lainez to a plane on a flight from Uruguay: "This is an open violation of human rights. It was evident Lainez was the one they meant to hurt." White said he was also beaten by police. Later, holding his groin to soothe his broken ribs, Lainez said he returned to Montevideo, the 51-year-old Lainez said, "I thought things in my country were better, that he [Stroessner] had softened his stance." Meanwhile, a government official said the officers had been carrying out their duty to prevent the return of "an agitator tied to the left."

## SPAIN

## Voting for socialism



Gonzalez: 'a warning'

Following electoral debate for French and Portuguese Socialists earlier this year, Spanish voters last week went against the European trend toward conservatism. They returned Gonzalo Garcia, Minister of Finance, to another four-year term. But the margin of victory disappointed some socialists. The party lost more than one million votes from its 1987 landslide in 1988, along with 16 seats in the 350-seat Parliament. Most analysts said that the slide was an indication of voter disenchantment with Spain's 25-per-cent unemployment rate and austere economic policies. Commented the Madrid daily *El Mundo*: "The Socialists should see their losses as a warning and an invitation to change their style of government." Socialist leaders expressed concern over the rise of the Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity) coalition, the political arm of the Basque separatist Euzkadi, which more than doubled its seats to five. But the election result was also a setback for the main rightist opposition Popular Coalition (PP), which also lost ground to smaller parties. Calling the coalition's showing "clearly unsatisfactory," the leaders of the Popular Democratic party—a junior partner in the PP—resigned from the coalition and threatened to form a separate group in Parliament.

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# 1987 NISSAN STANZA

# A gathering frontier storm

The announcement was a long-awaited sign of hope amid a climate of despair that was gathering over Canada's offshore energy prospects. Last week in St. John's, the seven ministers of the joint Canada-Newfoundland

Offshore Petroleum Board said that they had approved a detailed plan by Mobil Oil Canada Ltd. and its five partners to develop the 800-million barrel Hibernia oilfield lying 214 km southeast of the provincial capital. Newfoundland Energy Minister William Marshall added that he hoped the oil would be flowing ashore as early as 1998. But last week the future of the Hibernia field still hinged on tough negotiations under way between the oil companies and the federal and Newfoundland governments. At issue was how heavily the crude would be taxed. With low oil prices squeezing profits, other Canadian and foreign-owned oil companies spreading off Canada's east coast and in the Arctic were threatening to delay long-awaited negotiations if they did not receive more generous exploration and development incentives.

The new pressure by energy companies for government relief emerged only a year after the Conservatives adopted industry recommendations to lighten energy taxes and deregulate prices by dismantling the former Liberal government's National Energy Program (NEP). But in signing the so-called Western Accord with the oil-producing provinces and the Atlantic Accord with Newfoundland, federal Energy Minister Pat Carney also ended the generous Petroleum Income Tax (PIT). Under that program

Ontario paid energy firms up to 90 per cent of the cost of exploring for offshore oil and gas. This replaced the grant program with a less generous measure. Since then, falling prices have rendered high-cost offshore oil and gas uneconomical with-

"to explore for oil in deep and cold-water frontier environments."

Exploration activity has already fallen off dramatically. The number of drill rigs at work in Canada's Atlantic waters has dropped to just six from a record high of 10 a year ago. That decline is partly the result of poor drilling results from the Venture gas field off Nova Scotia's Sable Island. Two weeks ago the joint venture between Calgary-based Husky Oil Operations and Bow Valley Industries announced that at the end of July it would tie up three supply ships and a drilling rig currently working off the Nova Scotia coast, leaving 554 employees out of work. Said Larry Prather, East Coast manager of the Husky/Bow Valley consortium: "By the end of the year I will be surprised if there are two rigs operating off the east coast."

But even work in proven fields is in jeopardy. Husky/Bow Valley executives note that if the federal government did not provide more generous funding, it would stop drilling in the Ben Nevis oilfield off Newfoundland next July. With the new Exploration Tax Credit, a company can obtain a tax credit of 25 per cent on wells that cost more than \$5 million, enabling some companies to deduct up to 80 per cent with the aid of other tax credits. Declared Geoffrey Todd, president of the St. John's-based "Frontier" group: "Unless Ottawa provides a better alternative, there will be no exploration industry in Newfoundland by next summer."

As well, late last month executives of Calgary-based Gulf Canada Ltd. said that the company might pull out of the Beaufort Sea unless it, too, re-

ceives additional government assistance. Earlier this year Gulf announced that its huge Amadeus field 76 km south of Tuktoyaktuk could contain up to 800 million barrels of oil more than enough to justify the \$2-billion cost of a pipeline from Tuktoyaktuk to the existing network in northern Alberta.

But Gulf says that it must drill three more exploratory wells, at an estimated cost of \$250 million, to define the limits of the Amadeus field. The company has demanded that Carney fund the wells under terms similar to the old PIT program, which ended last March. As well, Gulf wants more generous measures that would allow its company partners—including Bow Valley and Husky Oil—to participate in the high cost of Arctic oil production. Declared Gulf vice-president of development Richard Broadwell: "There is not a hope in hell of partners joining us under existing financial arrangements."

So far, Carney has resisted requests for lobbying by the oil companies for further tax concessions. In signing the Western Accord last year, Ottawa cut the total 1986 tax on energy companies by \$1.8 billion. The only remaining special levy on energy firms is the Petroleum Gas and Revenue Tax (PGRT), which could take it up to \$900 million this year and will be eliminated completely in 1998. Said Carney last week: "You cannot resolve the problems of the downturn in oil prices by throwing money at them through government programs. That was attempted under the National Energy Program and it did not work."

Indeed, between 1981 and 1985 the federal government distributed \$8 billion in PIT grants for offshore exploration. But according to Doug A. Calgary-based energy analyst who publishes *Dery's Digest*, an industry newsletter, two-thirds of the oil discovered in Canada's frontiers in the past 20 years was found before the



Carney squaring profits and a wave of layoffs

government began handing out these grants. That exploration effort, between 1968 and 1986, cost the oil companies \$4.6 billion. But the remaining third of total frontier discoveries, made since 1986, cost \$4.6 billion to find—and over 70 per cent of that came from taxpayers.

Instead of creating new federal grant programs, Carney says that further major concessions are needed, the provinces should cut their own royalty and tax levies on energy companies. The energy minister is now locked in negotiations with his provincial counterparts and oil companies over who will bear the costs and reap the rewards. Last April, Ottawa introduced the small producer tax credit, which allowed small oil companies to escape the rent completely. Carney

Regroup pressure

under pressure from Alberta Premier Donald Getty to eliminate the remainder of the rent immediately. Carney was scheduled to meet with Alberta Energy Minister Neil Webber in Vancouver last weekend to discuss that and other measures to help Alberta's hard-pressed oil industry.

On the East Coast, the Newfoundland government of Brian Peckford is publicly defying efforts by Mobil and its four partners—Gulf Canada,

Petro-Canada, Columbia Gas Development and Chevron Canada Ltd.—to gain significant tax concessions before proceeding with Hibernia. Early last month Peckford said, "The oil companies are being more pessimistic and less realistic than reality they should be." Added Newfoundland Energy Minister Marshall last week: "We anticipated a certain amount of posturing."

But Gasman's Raffan told Mobil executives that industry observers feel that the Mobil consortium is prepared to hold its position at Hibernia, if it does not receive a satisfactory tax arrangement. Last April the St. John's Board of Trade and three other business groups representing offshore interests, alarmed by the prospect of the collapse of the East Coast drilling, urged the province and Ottawa to come up with a new and richer program of exploration incentives. They said that 200 Newfoundland companies could fall-ruddering in 4,800 lost jobs—an exploration spending falls to projected \$300 million a year from \$450 million this year.

The economic prospects are equally grim in the Northwest Territories where local leaders say that a petrol by Gulf would have a devastating impact not only on local economies—where 600 northerners work directly in the oil industry—but on all of Canada. In Nova Scotia the decline in drilling activity has already caused the province's economic growth rate to fall to 3.6 per cent—below the national average of 4.4 per cent. The major problem is that energy companies have failed to find the two trillion cubic feet of reserves necessary to justify commercial production in the Western gas project. Still, the Tory government of John Buchanan, which is currently negotiating a 1989 resource-sharing agreement with Ottawa, is counting on improved terms for offshore operators—coupled with a modest return in prices—to encourage energy firms to continue exploration. Warned Buchanan last month: "We could be very difficult to get the level of activity offshore back to where it was in the absence of new tax incentives."

A measure of desperation by both levels of government may be necessary to save jobs and maintain development of Canada's frontier energy finds. The main gap to finding a solution is the possibility that another dramatic rise in the world price of oil could suddenly make frontier oil not only affordable but critical.

—MARK MERRILL with JOHN HODGIE in Calgary, DAVE RALPH in St. John's, GARY CLARK in Ottawa, CHRIS WOOD in Halifax and PAT BOONE in St. John's



Drilling in the Beaufort. Tough negotiations expected with Ottawa

# Conscientious investors

The day was a simple one: to give Canadians an opportunity to funnel their investment money into those companies that adhered to specific ethical and moral standards. Last February the board of Canada's largest credit union—the

their money—but who also want their investments to reflect their ethical concerns. To qualify for VitaCity's Ethical Growth Fund, a company must have a Canadian-based office, not be involved in military production or nuclear energy, not trade with countries



Roger Laing: profiting in the stock market boom and a desire to reflect ethical concerns

100,000-member Vancouver City Savings—launched the country's first ethical mutual fund. Fund members said they hoped to attract \$5 million in investments from credit union members within the first year. But VitaCity's Ethical Growth Fund, a mutual fund that avoids investing in companies that deal in nuclear products, has been an even more dramatic success than expected. By last week the fund was already worth \$3 million. Encouraged by its members' enthusiastic response—570 VitaCity members have invested a minimum of \$800 each—the credit union's management is now preparing to offer the fund through stockbrokers and other credit unions across Canada, possibly by the end of the summer. Said VitaCity board member Robert Williams, an MBE for Vancouver East: "Most Canadian financial institutions are pretty traditional. They have not triggered to the fact that there is a real market out there for people who want to invest in stocks and bonds without feeling guilty about what their money is used for."

At the same time, a father-and-son team is preparing the first ethical fund specifically for institutional investors. The CANADIAN FUND—Canadian Ethical Dynamic and Responsible—is operated by Crawford Laing, 41, a Vancouver-based corporate attorney, and his son, Roger Laing, 22, an Edmonton social worker. Roger Laing first thought of starting an ethical fund in 1983, when he was writing a paper on ethical investing as part of a bachelor of social work program at the University of Calgary. Last month regulations in British Columbia and Ontario approved the sale of the CANADIAN FUND, which has a minimum investment level of \$500,000 and will be offered to pension funds and other institutional groups. Said Roger Laing: "Some pension trustees have told us that they are under increasing pressure to justify what types of investments they are making."

The so-called ethical funds have also proved to be profitable. In the three

months it has been in operation, VitaCity's fund has grown by nine per cent. In the United States, ethical funds have traditionally done as well as other mutual funds. Said VitaCity chairman David Lee, who was the main force behind the Ethical Growth Fund: "People will not invest in a firm just because it is a mass company."

Two weeks ago VitaCity published a list of 15 companies in which it has invested. The list includes such companies as Vancouver-based department store chain Woodward's Ltd., Mississauga, Ont.-based Northern Telecom Ltd. and Montreal conglomerate Power Corp. of Canada. Because of the fear of lost sales, ethical funds do not name the firms that they avoid.

Directing dollars toward companies that meet ethical standards began in the United States during the Vietnam War. Led by a handful of investment advisers such as Robert Schwartz—known as the grandfather of ethical investing—shareholders began withdrawing their funds from firms involved in arms production. Now, Schwartz, 68, is a vice-president with Wall Street broker Shearman-Lehman Brothers, where he manages \$546 million in ethical investments.

In 1971 the first ethical mutual fund—the Partnership, N.H.-based Pax World Fund—was started by members of the United Methodist Church. According to the Boston-based Social Investment Forum, an association for ethical mutual funds, there are now six similar funds in the United States. Together, they have more than \$600 million invested in companies that meet such fundamental criteria as not investing in South Africa or arms production. Another \$350 million in investments is subject to more stringent standards, including whether a company safeguards the environment or advocates equal-opportunity employment.

Canada's pioneers in pooled ethical funds are directly planning to expand. CIBC's Roger Laing said that he has already had discussions with executives from a major Toronto-based trust company about setting up an ethical retirement savings plan fund which would be available to the general public. That would give more Canadians an opportunity to put their money where their morals are.

—MICHAEL SANDER with WATKIN BUDGEN in Vancouver and DAVID LEBERKOPF in New York

# Life with yen shokku

The solution was a routine one for any Western manager. But when Tokyo-based electronics manufacturer Sanyo was faced with the problem of rising domestic costs and embittered competitiveness from cheaper foreign rivals, it took an unprecedented step for a Japanese firm. Earlier this year it laid off 200 of its 1,400 plant workers, breaking the lifetime guarantee that large Japanese companies provide. Millions unemployed. The announcement, and the attack on the country's corporate way of life, is what the Japanese call the yen shokku—the yen shock. The economy has risen 35 per cent in value against the American dollar since the greenback was devalued last September. As a result, Sanyo, along with other export-dependent Japanese firms, has been forced to take drastic measures to stay competitive and profitable.

The consequences for the plant Japanese economy, and for a society based on an export-to-ill-winds philosophy, are profound. The rising yen, which has made Japanese goods more expensive in the world market, is straining the balance sheets of many Japanese firms. But the currency crisis is also



Tokyo stock exchange: a currency crisis

forcing the Japanese to re-examine the way their economic system—especially the inefficient but socially protective practices that high levels of exports have allowed. Said Masahiko Ueda, research director of the government's Social and Media Research Agency: "The Japanese must build up a frontier spirit and discover new means of making money."

The need for dramatic alterations became even more apparent last week with reports that Japan's gross national product had dropped 0.5 per cent in the first three months of 1986—the first contraction of the economy in 11 years. Economists attributed the decline to the impact of the yen on industry—exports fell 4.9 per cent in that period from the last quarter of 1985. The conventional economic weakness developed as the governing Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), headed by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, prepared for a July 6 national election. Political analysts predicted that the LDP would again win, but still face opposition over the growing problems of unemployment and dislocation of service industries.

The storm of economic disruption are now clear. Bankruptcies directly related to the yen shokku totalled 30 in May, according to the Teikoku Data

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Bank. Takuo Yamazaki, chief of the management stability consultancy division of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, says he advises at least three companies a month on how to close—a new experience for a man accustomed to helping companies expand. He explained Yamazaki, "The desire to expand is not the only cause of the bankruptcy, but was the biggest blow."

Hardest hit among the big exporters have been high-tech electronics companies. For Shonai and others, the yen shows is an added disadvantage in an already highly competitive world mar-

ket. The electronics company lost \$16.5 million in its 1986 fiscal year. "We would like to raise our prices, but we cannot because of strong competition," said Kenichi Kurokawa, assistant to Shonai's president. Although Shonai has been stepping up automation in its factories over the past year to improve productivity, management feels that was not enough to counter the large flood labor costs of its well-paid workforce—and it resorted to layoffs.

Japanese industry is adopting another equally unusual tactic for dealing with the high-yen yen. The tradition-

al practice of company manufacturing within Japan—rather than operating branch plants in the markets to which they sell their products—is changing. Japan's biggest computer maker, Fujitsu, which reported a drop of 35 per cent in its operating profit for the fiscal year that ended in March, has introduced a program to move production overseas to take advantage of cheaper local currencies and labor. And Matsushita, the world's biggest consumer electronics firm, which projects a 30-per-cent drop in earnings in 1986, has announced that it will shift assembly of products priced under \$100 to Taiwan and Singapore.

A recent poll of top executives by the leading business daily *Nikkei Keizai* Shimbun found that most think that transferring some Japanese industry abroad is inevitable. Many also say industries that remain in Japan will either be geared toward the domestic market or will manufacture products that are entirely new.

Japanese industry has a good deal of experience in adjusting to dramatically changing economic conditions. After the twin oil crises of the 1970s, profits initially fell. But the Japanese quickly requested, cut costs and improved efficiency in order to revive a powerful export assault on world markets which proved to be unbeatable. That strategy is unworkable now, experts say. Renewed assaults on markets already inundated with Japanese goods would likely lead to retaliation, either in the form of protectionism or through the devaluation of other currencies.

The best alternative now for the Japanese appears to be to stimulate consumer demand at home. That could be accomplished by increasing government spending and by altering the tax system to encourage private sector spending. The government has agreed to introduce an expansionist budget this fall. But, said Stewart Scheuer, a Tokyo-based business consultant originally from New York, "The skewed allocation of resources in favor of exports needs straightening."

Many Western observers think that the Japanese will have to re-examine the country's wholesale and retail sales network. It is, Scheuer says, a multilayered, overextended system which employs 33 million Japanese. The organization, he added, is the "world's most sophisticated welfare system"—one that, though officially sanctioned (retirees, overemployed workers). In its struggle with the yen, Japan will now have to balance the conflicting imperatives of preserving employment and forging a new direction for its economy.

"I always judge a person by what he does with his money," Lam told me in a news interview. "And what I try to do is not just to buy or sell what the government should be doing, but contribute in ways that will help modernize our thinking, because if the mind changes, everything changes." One example of this technique is Lam's sponsorship of a series of medical and philosophical seminars in Hong Kong

—PETER MCGRATH in Tokyo

BUSINESS WATCH

## A Confucian philanthropist

By Peter C. Newman

When Mike Shearart, the astro-tro-vest socialist who is mayor of Vancouver, was recently presenting over the official opening of the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Classical Chinese Garden, he inadvertently blew the cover of British Columbia's most secret—and most interesting—philanthropist. After giving an about the horticultural wonders of the only authentic classical Chinese garden built outside China, Harcourt ended his oration with a flourish: "We all want to thank David Lam for his \$1-million anonymous gift that made this great project possible."

Lam has been a shadowy but heavyweight presence in West Coast real estate for years. His Canadian International Properties Ltd. has farmed an estimated \$500 million of Hong Kong funds into North America, and even though he is slowing down, he negotiated sales and purchases of buildings worth at least \$100 million during 1985.

What makes Lam stand out, not only among his fellow Chinese but within the black philanthropic climate of the whole Canadian Establishment, is his determination to give away about \$5 million a year. His recent creative donations include \$1 million to the University of Victoria to help create a Centre for Pacific Rim Studies, \$1 million to establish the David Lam Management Research Library at the University of British Columbia, \$1 million to help expand Regent College, a theological seminary in downtown Vancouver, \$1.5 million to help fund social and theological studies in Hong Kong, and money for smaller projects, such as helping to fund the Vancouver Police Centennial Museum and sending the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra on a tour of Japan.

Not since the Kormers arrived on Canada's West Coast from Guangdong in the late 1800s has anyone in British Columbia given away so much money and used it to such good effect.

"I always judge a person by what he does with his money," Lam told me in a news interview. "And what I try to do is not just to buy or sell what the government should be doing, but contribute in ways that will help modernize our thinking, because if the mind changes, everything changes." One example of this technique is Lam's sponsorship of a series of medical and philosophical seminars in Hong Kong

later this year. "If I can reach a handful of intellectuals," he said, "my just 27 people, one day, when Hong Kong is swallowed up by China, they will be satisfied that it is the saving of a soul which my blessing, keeping alive and spreading new ideas, including Christianity."

David Lam's father was born in a village 100 km east of Hong Kong, the son of a teacher who was converted to Christianity and became the village's

pastor. Lam's father was born in a village 100 km east of Hong Kong, the son of a teacher who was converted to Christianity and became the village's pastor. Lam's father was born in a village 100 km east of Hong Kong, the son of a teacher who was converted to Christianity and became the village's pastor. Lam's father was born in a village 100 km east of Hong Kong, the son of a teacher who was converted to Christianity and became the village's pastor.

The Chinese in Canada have come through a lot of suffering and discrimination, and yet we feel a very useful part of the community," says Lam. "I want to modernize the thinking of both the Chinese and the white Canadians through the exchange of Christian and Oriental philosophies and religious Hermany in the key—with yourself and with others."

Lam's hidden agenda is to reduce the image of the Chinese community, to set an example that his descendants, several of whom could well afford to do as he does, should follow. "I carry this burden," he said. "I want Canadians to recognize that the Chinese in this country are not a liability," he says. "Otherwise, I would be quite happy just selling and digging my garden."

To a close friend, who was with him when the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Garden was being funded, Lam was more direct. "If I were building a Jewish Garden," he remarked, "I could have got the money raised 10 times over. And even though there are more Chinese in Vancouver who are richer than the Jews, I can't get any money out of them."

In his own quiet and enlightened way, David Lam is trying to redress the balance.

Lam: a heavyweight cultural presence

was 44 years old, not rich, but he fell in love with Vancouver and opened a real estate office. His former Hong Kong contacts enlisted him as a useful channel for investing their flight capital. He insisted that they lend him enough money so he could buy a piece of each real estate deal on his own account.

Apart from that very odd financial beginning, Lam's success was based on applying what amounts to Confucian ethics to real estate, which hardly ever happens in the material world of Vancouver's flippers. "Luck and my Chinese philosophy told me enough is enough—don't go for the last dollar," he says. "Because I always felt that I would rather lose a deal and a commission than lose a friend, many of my clients are now my friends—and many of my friends are my clients. I always pay slightly more than the market and charge slightly less—so I always seem to have waiting lists for my buildings."

His real-estate coup was buying and selling the Insurance Exchange Building in downtown San Francisco at a \$50-million profit. That took a part aside to finance his David and Dorothy Lam Foundation. "I didn't need that kind of money," he recalls. "I was already enjoying life 100 per cent."

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In his own quiet and enlightened way, David Lam is trying to redress the balance.

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# Confronting the ravages of old age

Adelving prodigious, healthy old age is one of man's cherished dreams. But even the impressive medical advances of the past century have failed to provide the ultimate scientific objective, and a cure for aging remains elusive. Still, it is a goal sought by

increasing numbers of researchers in North America. And last week four members of a research group at New York's Rockefeller University disclosed promising results from experiments with a chemical that may prevent some of the worst ravages of old age. Their report on tests involving laboratory rats is part of a broad-based effort to discover the most basic mechanisms of aging, a search that many scientists say will intensify as Canadian and U.S. populations become progressively older. Said University of Toronto geneticist James Kirkland, "Manipulating the human life-span is still in the realm of science fiction—but just barely. It is coming close to being a reality."

The experiments conducted by the Rockefeller researchers, published in last week's issue of *Science* magazine, gave some indication of progress toward that goal. The five-month tests focused on diabetes, a disease that accelerates such conditions as hardening of the arteries and loss of flexibility, which are also associated with old age. From findings in earlier research, the scientists theorized that glucose in the bloodstream was responsible for producing these illnesses. The group found that excessive glucose does affect the aging process by stimulating cross-linking—bonding between proteins in blood vessel walls and a variety of other molecules, including identical proteins on blood cholesterol.

The Rockefeller researchers added that the reaction they found in narrow, more rigid vessels and may also hasten the formation of plaques

as protein lumps in the bloodstream. Arteriosclerosis is one of the most common eroding diseases of old age. But the Rockefeller scientists found that they could protect diabetic rats from contracting symptoms of the disease by injecting them with antioxidants.

reversing the aging process. Each group of theories has produced intriguing leads and some dramatic experimental results, but the breakthrough that could lead to new treatments for the diseases of old age remains elusive. Said Deborah Harmon, a leading age-



Kirkland: "Manipulating the life-span is still science fiction but it is getting close to a reality."

researcher at the University of Nebraska. "The thing that is badly needed today is a major effort to find the biological cause of aging." Harmon is a leading proponent of a widely accepted theory about aging. She claims that the body ages as a result of lifelong bombardment by highly active particles of oxygen molecules, known as free radicals. These particles occur naturally in the course of breathing, and they are known to damage genetic material in cells. In fact, free radicals produced in the body by radioactive fallout are directly responsible for radiation sickness, the symptoms of which are resemble premature old age. Said Harmon: "We are these free radicals all the time for normal processes. At the same time, they inflict an awful lot of damage, and slowly over time that causes aging."

Harmon and other scientists have attempted to test that theory by feeding laboratory animals small amounts of so-called antioxidant compounds, known to neutralize free radicals. In

some cases, such compounds as Vitamin E appeared to extend the animals' lives slightly—but the time gained was not sufficient to confirm the theory. Still, recent studies have shown that eating antioxidants does little to raise the overall level of the compounds within the body. According to Richard Carter, a molecular biologist with the Gerontology Research Center in Baltimore, Md., recent experiments which he has conducted suggest that all animals maintain a consistent level of antioxidants in the same way that some

three years. But if the free-radical theory is correct, the genetically engineered mice will probably live significantly longer than that.

Scientists who subscribe to genetic theories of aging have long discounted the free-radical theory. And Calvin Harley, a biochemist at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont., says that there is "one very good reason" for that. He notes that all mammals have an almost identical biochemical structure. And if free radicals are the sole cause of aging, each species should

have approximately the same life-span. Instead, maximum life-spans among mammals vary from a few years for mice to the approximately 155 years enjoyed by a few exceptional human beings. According to Harley, those observations strongly indicate that age is genetically determined.

And despite recent evidence that the longer-lived species produce greater amounts of antioxidants, there are other compelling reasons that support a genetic theory of aging. For one thing, experiments show that cells taken from young animals divide a greater number of times than cells taken from older individuals of the same species. In addition, cells from longer-lived species will divide more often than cells from short-lived species.



Relaxed couple, Brownlow (below) impressive advances but no cure for aging

have approximately the same life-span. Instead, maximum life-spans among mammals vary from a few years for mice to the approximately 155 years enjoyed by a few exceptional human beings. According to Harley, those observations strongly indicate that age is genetically determined.

And despite recent evidence that the longer-lived species produce greater amounts of antioxidants, there are other compelling reasons that support a genetic theory of aging. For one thing, experiments show that cells taken from young animals divide a greater number of times than cells taken from older individuals of the same species. In addition, cells from longer-lived species will divide more often than cells from short-lived species.

Robert and Deborah Harmon are scientists who have made significant advances in understanding the aging process. They are currently working on a project to extend the period of the life-span that is useful and functional. "Clearly, medical science is a long way from discovering the secret of immortality. But if the current research into the biology of aging yields even a fraction of its promise, it may mean that we can avoid fear by conquering many of the diseases that ruin the final years of human life."

This evidence has stimulated a search for genes that may have an effect on the aging process. Over the past three years Thomas Johnson, a researcher at the University of California at Irvine, has demonstrated that changing a single gene in a species of nematode worms by 40 per cent still, scientists do not expect to achieve similar results so easily among higher organisms. Said Harley: "To look for a single gene that gives rise to aging in a cold or an organism is futile. There are many genes involved." In fact, George Martin of the University of Washington in Seattle, a leading expert on the genetic theory of aging, recently calculated that up to seven per cent of all human genes could play a role in aging.

If there are a variety of causes, it would help to explain why some people are more susceptible to different age-related diseases than others. But one aspect of Martin's research that offers a tantalizing suggestion of a simpler cause involves a rare disease known as Werner's syndrome. That disease occurs in children of parents who each have a defect in a single gene. Those unfortunate children develop normally until they reach adolescence, when they prematurely develop many signs of old age, including graying hair, osteoarthritis, arteriosclerosis and osteoporosis. Most die in their mid-fifties. According to Martin, the fact that a duplication of one bad gene produces Werner's syndrome indicates that a single defective segment contains a range of age-related problems. Still, it is more likely that many different genes cause aging. Declared Martin: "It is not very likely that we will ever be able to develop one magic bullet that will extend the life-span completely."

—JOHN BARBER in Toronto

# Wars among the newspaper families

The sudden May 27 closing of the financially troubled Baltimore *News American*, the 210-year-old newspaper that reported on the U.S. Declaration of Independence in 1776—added that city to the growing list of one-newspaper city newspapers in the United States. And the folding of that Hearst Corp. paper cleared the way for the purchase of its competitors by the giant Times Mirror Co. of Los Angeles. The day after the *News American* printed its last banner headline—"So long, Baltimore"—the Times Mirror Co. paid a record \$68 million for the family-owned A.S. Abell Publishing Co., whose holdings included *The Sun* and *The Evening Sun* in Baltimore, two television stations and two magazines. Norman Isaac, former editor, retired journalism professor and a former chairman of the National News Council, a group that investigated complaints against the media which disbanded in 1982, declared: "It's the third- and fourth-generation syndicate. They want the cash. The dirt throw chain ownership is impossible to stop."

The five-mile sale was the latest in a recent series of transactions in which long-established family-owned newspapers in Detroit, Des Moines, Iowa, and Louisville, Ky., passed into the hands of giant media corporations. According to Ben Bagdikian, dean of the graduate school of journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, 91 per cent of the 1,674 daily newspapers in the United States are monopolies. And Bagdikian says he feels the current trend disturbing. "The chains are controlling a series of local monopolies that are the sole carriers in many areas of news and local services national news."

In St. Louis earlier this year the heirs to the press fortune of Joseph Pulitzer fought a highly publicized battle over the family's flag-

ship paper, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Some family members wanted to sell the paper and the other media holdings that are the legacy of Pulitzer, for whom journalism's Pulitzer Prize was named and the main re-

source, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* remains in family hands, disputes between members of the Scripps family in Detroit, the Binghams in Kentucky, the Abells in Maryland and the Cowmans in Iowa, owners of *The Des Moines Register*, have resulted in the heirs getting out of the newspaper business. And with the exception of the Abells, they all started their holdings over to Allen Newbarr, the chairman of the Gazette Co. Inc. of Arlington, Va. Under Newbarr's tight financial control, Gazette has become the largest U.S. group, controlling 90 daily papers with sales of \$5.8 million a year. The company had a profit of \$1.8 million last year.

Newbarr's major advertisement has been *USA Today*, a national daily featuring extensive sports, short news stories and attractive four-color graphics. Although *USA Today* claims to be the second-largest paper in the United States (after *The Wall Street Journal*) with sales of 4 million daily, it has lost money ever since its 1982 introduction—an estimated \$67.9 million so far.

In Detroit, Gazette paid \$957 million last year for *The Detroit News* and other holdings, including an inactive television station in Washington, D.C. But the future of the *News* is unclear. Engaging in an extremely expensive circulation battle over the past three decades, the *Washington News* and the morning *Detroit Free Press* not only lost advertising rates and newspaper prices—the *News* costs 35 cents on weekdays—but also spent large amounts of

money in editorial coverage of such stories as racial unrest in South Africa, where the *Free Press* has a reporter and a staff photographer. The result has been an almost even splitting of the newspaper market, with the *News* selling 680,645 copies on an average weekday and the *Free Press* 645,286.

To end that expensive fight, Gazette and Knight-Ridder Newspapers Inc., the Knight-based group that owns the *Free Press*, negotiated a joint operating agreement which would enable both papers to cut costs by reducing staff. If the U.S. justice department approves, the companies would merge the production and business departments of both papers and publish a joint edition on weekends. Opposing the merger is a coalition whose members include Detroit Mayor Coleman A. Young and retired United Auto Workers president Edward Franz, executive editor of *Metropolitan Detroit* magazine, questioned the economic necessity of the merger. Said Levin: "Neither newspaper is a basket case." But the newspaper proprietors, in their submission to the government, have described the *Free Press* as a "ailing" newspaper—a requirement under the law. But Ellis Abell, a communications professor at Stanford University, said, "It's hard to see how a paper with 680,000-plus circulation is failing."

Meanwhile, in Kentucky, a dispute in the Bingham family led to the sale of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and *The Louisville Times* in May. When Barry Bingham Jr. removed all four family members from the board of directors in March, 1984, Bingham sisters Sarah and Eleanor decided to sell their shares despite the opposition of brother Barry, the publisher of both papers. Last January the family's 80-year-old parents, Barry Bingham Sr. and Eleanor, died. Barry Bingham Sr., claiming that the sale of the family business was both unavoidable and tragic, offered the company for sale. But the Bingham daughters argued that the sale was a family-owned trust violation to run a lottery promotion to attract investors which proclaimed: "Win a Family Fortune with Bingham Bucks."

In May, Gazette paid \$417 million for the Louisville water paper, which now has eight Pulitzer prizes for journalistic excellence. Said Isaac: "Newbarr would like to go down as having turned Gazette into the producer of some of the highest-quality papers in the country. If he can do that through Des Moines, Louisville and Detroit—perhaps by making other papers pay the bills—then he will have really achieved something."

—SAM ARNTSEN in Washington

## A matter of ethics

The Wisconsin *Free Press* investigation that forced the May 19 resignation of Manitoba Energy Minister Wilson Perreault has opened a second controversy: the newspaper's own coverage of the story. It led, during the first two days of a judicial inquiry into a possible conflict of interest involving Perreault, the former

has said that he expects to return to the cabinet when Freedman issues his report next month. At the center of the controversy is The *Wisconsin*, an 87-year-old daily based in Wisconsin's Badger State, an area currently undergoing extensive renewal. In 1982 Breckinridge owner Michael Decker, the former clerk of the province's executive council, convinced some friends and family members to invest in his budding to raise money for renovations. Among the investors were Perreault and Douglas Davidson, a former Manitoba assistant deputy minister of employment services.

Then, in June, 1984, Davidson asked his partners to buy him out. A month later Davidson's consulting firm received a \$400,000 contract from the Manitoba Energy Authority, part of Perreault's portfolio. This year, on May 17 the *Free Press* reported these events under the headline, *Perreault Partner Gets a Hydro Contract*. Two days later Perreault resigned.

Earlier, on April 19 the *Free Press* had reported that Perreault, his mother and his sister had sold more than \$50,000 on their income taxes by investing in a company of former scientific research lab credits. Described by former Manitoba finance minister Victor Shredner as "impudent" (that), the federal program was intended to stimulate investment in scientific research



Perreault's resignation about possible tax credits

cabinet minister's lawyer, Alan MacIsaac, questioned the journalistic ethics of the paper. And he led inquiry commissioner Samuel Freedman that his client was the victim of "a trust by credit, that he had been" since April the newspaper has printed two series of articles examining some of Perreault's financial convictions. But these reports have come under attack from the energy minister's colleagues. Indeed, in an editorial published two days after Perreault's resignation, the *Free Press* itself stated, "On the face of it, the facts published in this newspaper since last Saturday do not point to a conflict of interest."

Following Perreault's resignation, Premier Howard Pawley appointed former Manitoba Chief Justice Freedman to conduct an inquiry into the affair. The inquiry adjourned on June 4 but will resume July 2. And Perreault

when introduced by the Liberals in 1982. The Conservatives cancelled the credit program in October, 1984, after federal finance department officials uncovered widespread abuses. A grant was issued to Perreault, said he resigned his action.

Meanwhile, William Neill, a political scientist at the University of Manitoba who was once an aide to former Manitoba Conservative leader Shirley Sprink, said, "This kind of thing has become an occupational hazard of being in politics. I think there is a kind of zeal which has to raise questions so to whether sensible people would want to hold public office." But Perreault, his supporters and his critics will all have to wait until the inquiry report is released in mid-August to see if Freedman shares that opinion.

—GORD SMITH in Winnipeg



Manitoba Gazette purchase in Louisville 'impossible to stop'

pled as one of the founders of the sensationalist so-called yellow press (The term came from *The Yellow Kid*, a popular comic strip featured by both Hearst and Pulitzer papers which ended in New York in the late 1880s.) When Pulitzer Publishing Co. chairman Joseph Pulitzer Jr., grandson of



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## A world-class marathon for research

There were only 40 spectators—a few journalists and cyclists and three onlookers in wheelchairs—when Erik Hansen propelled himself out of a suburban hotel parking lot near Mitten last week. For Hansen, the low turnout was in sharp contrast to the enthusiastic reception he usually receives. The 36-year-old wheelchair athlete from Williams Lake, B.C., is on a record-the-world-attempt to raise \$10 million for spinal cord research and promote rehabilitation through wheelchair sports and education. Hansen, who has been paralyzed since he was 16, is a "hero of heroes" in his effort. He braved blinding dust, strong head winds and stomach problems on a 1,200-km journey from Peking to Shanghai, but he has begun 18 hours of the grueling 100-day, 100-km-a-day, 100-mile Canadian stage of his disappearing beginning to the final segment of his marathon. Declared Hansen: "China is a mirror of what we're trying to establish. We saw responses in old people, society—the participation was electric."

Hansen has already logged 25,400 km in a touring which has taken him across 15 countries, from North America, across the left Vancouver coast, across the Pacific, and in March, 1985 he has endured the heat of the Australian desert and an exhausting trip through the Alps. But he says that his most difficult challenge will be ahead: after travelling up the eastern seaboard of the United States, Hansen plans to set off along the Trans-Canada Highway from St. John's, Nfld., in late August. He will be following in the footsteps of over-logged marathoners Terry Fox and Steve Poppe as he heads across Canada with the goal of reaching Vancouver next spring.

His schedule across the Prairies in winter will also allow five Vancouver-based researchers to test such items as insulated clothing against temperature moisture for disabled athletes and winterized wheelchairs equipped with chains and studs. But these test results are bonuses for Hansen. He embarked on his 40,000-km journey to demonstrate that the disabled can achieve JHS's objectives. But the financial returns so far have been minor. Although Hansen has raised \$1.3 million to defray tour costs, he has received only \$150,000 in donations for his research fund. Still, he expects to generate most of his support closer to home.

other Canadians see his powerful upper body pumping the wheels of his chair 35,000 times a day for up to 12 hours.

That alone is a remarkable achievement for a man who says that in June, 1973, he feared that an accident would

Edmonton Oiler hockey star Wayne Gretzky. Shortly after winning that award, Henson set himself a new goal: raising funds for research on spinal cord injuries, a condition that immobilizes 25,000 victims in Canada and the United States each year through accidents alone.

To that end, Hansen sets himself a quota of 80 km each day, sometimes spinning his wheelchair around and traveling backwards for short distances to vary the strain on his legs. He has a few aches and pains, but he wears out three wheels, 85 near tears, 50 frost-free tires, 59 pairs of leather gloves—at a cost of \$12 a pair. The entire odyssey may cost \$1.5 million. Ottawa has contributed \$150,000 to support the tour's expenses. Veterans Affairs Canada, but funds the expedition's largest support network: six staff members who travel with Hansen. They include a cook, physiotherapist—and Donald Alder, the friend who escaped with Hansen permanent injury when Hansen was 17 years old. He maintains the wheelchair and drives the motor home which constantly follows Hansen on the road. Despite almost constant fatigue and storm-torn weather, Hansen remains confident that he will finish his journey. He declared: "We have touched tens and hundreds of millions of people. What counts is not the disability but the ability. The money will eventually be there because people will begin to understand what it's like to be someone to do and win."

Meanwhile, memories of what he has already accomplished keep driving him forward. He recalled that when he was crossing Poland last September several men blocked his progress through a small town and insisted on carrying him into a restaurant, where they bought meals for everyone on the tour. And in Warsaw, Massan's gritty performance clearly inspired the three youths in wheelchairs who came to the hotel parking lot to wish him well; they accompanied him for the first 15 km of his journey home.

— **ADOLF HITLER** with **HENRICH HARTMANN** in Vienna

confirms him to a hospital bed for the rest of his life. It occurred when Hansen was 15 and a high school basketball star. He and a friend were returning home from a skating trip when the pickup truck in which they were riding flipped over, slamming a large steel beam into Hansen's spine. Although permanently crippled from the waist down, Hansen took up a new form of athletics, and by 1983 he had won 16 international wheelchair marathons, an achievement which led sports journalists to name him Canadian athlete of the year along with



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Honeymoon Suits' attention in America but quiet about Canadian fans

## PEOPLE

**T**his week, while Americans celebrated the 100th anniversary of their country's most spectacular symbol of freedom, the rebarbated Statue of Liberty, writer Norman Mailer interjected a cautionary note: "We've had huge freedom, and we've shared it, so the pendulums is going back." Indeed Mailer, 52, "The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Watergate and Vietnam produced a feeling that we had to get back to the old ways because safety lies

there." Americans forget, he added, that with the old ways "people descended into madness." But Mailer said he did not expect Americans to look to their writers for guidance: "They just want somebody to stop making a noise so they can watch tv and eat fast food."

**W**ith her hair still short from her recent role as transsexual beauty *Barbie* Richards in the TV movie *Shogun*, Vanessa Redgrave is currently duking critics in a West End repertory theatre in London where she is playing the lead in two Shakespearean plays, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. Redgrave says that she has no difficulty alternating her role as what *The Financial Times* described as "a crab-haired ginger leopards of the Nile" with *Shrew's* down-turned Kate. Said Redgrave, 49: "When I take on a role, I consider it worthwhile to get into that character's skin."

**A**cross Linda Ennis, interviewed recently in the *Australian* tabloid, says she was filming a TV mini-series, where she is having more adventures than the expected *Sold*. The glamorous 43-year-old star of TV's *Di-*

namy "I'm used to working with gypsies, not the real thing—swelling phantasies, decaying, picked at by violators." A more passionate discovery, she says, was the "enraptured" custom of tea breaks. "The first time they told me we were stopping for tea, I thought they were kidding. Now I'm hooked."

**F**our hit singles over the past two years have made Honeymoon Suite, composed of musicians Gary Lowrie, Dave Bell, Johnnie Dean, Danny Graham and Ray Coburn, one of the top rock bands in Canada. The group is also attracting attention in the United States: Suite's latest album, *The Big Prize*, was favorably reviewed in *People* magazine. According to bass player Lowrie, 35, band members are now feeling guilty about neglecting their Canadian fans. But he added, "We're going to change that and tour Canada soon."

**B**ritish biographer Robert Leach, who has written a controversial book about the Ford automobile dynasty, *Ford: The Men and the Machine*, says that he makes a habit of shoving manuscripts to people he has interviewed. Said Leach: "This usually prompts them to be a bit more open." But he says that Henry Ford II was furious and insisted on seeing his copy in person. "It was not an easy interview," admits Leach, adding that Ford said he was not so much disappointed as puzzled that Leach had written what the famous grandson of the founder called "a sea book." Said Leach: "I'm not in the habit of writing sea books, but when you write about a man who has had three wives and a colorful private life that sort of thing seeps in."



Ennis: 'victimized'

**I**n 1978, just 11 years as one of halfhearted mustache-twirling emperors, Ron Lucas resigned—much to the delight, he says, of those who disapproved of his offbeat writing. One offbeat was Baltimore Orioles manager Earl Weaver, with whom Lucas had legendary disagreements. "I generally disliked that little creep," said Lucas, who is now biographer, *The Umpire Strikes Back* and *Strike Two* (in third, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, has just been published). He added, "I have offered to throw out the first ball if Baltimore makes it to the World Series this year, but Weaver says it'll only happen over his dead body." Said Lucas, 49: "That's okay by me."

**M**oreover, "I'm used to working with gypsies, not the real thing—swelling phantasies, decaying, picked at by violators." A more passionate discovery, she says, was the "enraptured" custom of tea breaks. "The first time they told me we were stopping for tea, I thought they were kidding. Now I'm hooked."

—Contributed by MARK MONYER

## ART

# Paintings steeped in tribal magic

**T**hroughout his 40-year career, painter Jack Shadbolt has experimented with a wide variety of styles and subjects. But he keeps returning to the images and symbols of West Coast native art. The University of British Columbia (UBC) Museum of Anthropology has just mounted an exhibition exploring that aspect of the work of Shadbolt, who is one of the West Coast's—and Canada's—premiere artists. Jack Shadbolt and the Coastal Ja-

ving paintings of Indian culture on the brink of extinction. During the Second World War he served in Europe as a war artist. Although he reached out to the international art world in the late 1940s, embracing styles from primitivism and cubism to abstract expressionism, he kept returning to the Indian imagery that had inspired him in his youth. Said Halper: "Jack grew up with these images. His art is most powerful when he comes home."

landscapes. The work is darkly intense, enlivened with splashes of vibrant orange. Also in the painting, Halper has installed an object made of wood, copper, hair and canvas—the actual mask that inspired the piece.

The Valley Beyond, one of the new works Shadbolt created for the exhibition, is similarly haunting. Painted in acrylics, it depicts a mask hovering over trees and mountains in a strong sense of the Indians' connection to the



Shadbolt's Cowi Indian Suits and Indian Masks: double-headed eagles, meadowlark and meandering landscapes

dawn. The work is a daring and, at times, daunting exhibition of 36 canvases—31 of them created by the 71-year-old artist, expressly for the exhibition— juxtaposed with 15 related West Coast Indian artifacts. The show opened on June 17 and runs until Nov. 30. At a time when indigenous Indian culture continues to struggle for its survival, the exhibition presents one of the attempts in Canada to art history to bridge the two cultures of native and non-native worlds.

The unique show was the idea of curator Margaret Halper, an anthropologist at the University of British Columbia. She says that Shadbolt, who became intrigued by West Coast native art at the outset of his career, was deeply touched by Indian mythology. Born in England in 1909, he moved with his parents to Victoria at the age of three and began drawing the masks and totem poles on display in the Victoria Museum when he was 18. Later, in the 1930s, he studied Emily Carr's broad-

By taking 19th-century Indian artists all their daily museum shows and combining them with Shadbolt's electrically colored abstract paintings, Halper has created a dynamic new environment for both. That is apparent in the show's first display, which features a pair of acutely lit Southern Kwakiwilt masks and Shadbolt's arresting *Red Knight* (1947). The painting is an abstract, richly colored oil in which he has taken the elemental forms of a similar mask and reassembled them into a coat of medieval armor. Red Knight uses the mask's evocation of death to articulate the horror of war.

The artistic link between past and present, between British Columbia's white and nonwhite cultures, are most clearly defined in *The Place* (1972), a three-panel watercolor and mixed media. Looming and seed-shaped, the bottom of the central panel of *The Place* depicts a mask from the Bella Coala tribe floating in front of a marooning

land. Such paintings have more impact than Shadbolt's explicitly political works—such as *Brave* for an Inuit, another scene created for the exhibition. It is a surrealistic acrylic on two panels featuring a double-headed eagle, its talons extended, looting over a forest of stumps. The work conveys the artist's support for Indian claims to Mowat Island, currently contested by logging companies. But *Brave* is too heavy-handed, it gives viewers the impression that Shadbolt is paternally using Indian images.

Jack Shadbolt and the Coastal Indians is an affecting, visually rich exhibition. It is also intellectually and emotionally demanding, forcing viewers to shift constantly between two distinct worlds. Said Halper: "I wanted to show a conversation between two cultures." Viewers of the show have the privilege of witnessing a rare and provocative exchange.

—JANE O'HARA



Redgrave: 'crab-haired ginger tigress'

1978/1979



Shuffle Demons, Unleashed (right) a bewsy instrument of promiscuous options

## MUSIC

# The sexy sax is back

It has a warm, throaty voice, suited to street corners on hot summer nights. And the sound instantly conjures up sex shapes—an outrageous curve of pouting lips, smeared with rosy and keys. Capable of wailing, moaning, squealing and howling, the saxophone is an instrument of promiscuous options. In the 1920s the sax flourished as an outlet for the reckless abandon of jazz, the wistful sighs of rhythm and blues and the sparring intensity of rock 'n' roll. But as pop music became electrified, the saxophone gradually receded from western stage. Now, there are signs that the sax is back with a vengeance. Once again sax players have become a prominent feature in pop bands—from America's Bruce Springsteen to Britain's Rory McEneaney, a new breed of bebop-sax as creating music devoid predominantly to the saxophone. In fact, the sounds of multiple saxophones will fill the air in the outdoor spaces of Vancouver's Expo '86 this month with the scheduled arrival of two separate groups of sax extraneists.

One is the Shuffle Demons—five Toronto musicians who wear leopard-print, cheap sunglasses and gaudy African costumes. Bunkers who have turned professional, the Demons are rejuvinating jazz with infusions of

handclaps and human. They spent last summer as a tour of Europe's streets and clubs that took them all the way to East Berlin. Last month they released a debut album titled *Streetwise*. This week they are appearing at the Edmonton Jazz City Festival, with material ranging from Thelma Houston's *Meanwhile* to the *Phantom of the Opera*. And leader Richard Underhill, one of the Demons' three sax men: "Sax players love playing with other sax players. It's like a brotherhood."

The other group going to Expo, Urban Sax, takes an even more outrageous approach. It consists of 40 musicians from Toronto—including 30 saxophonists—who wear hooded white polyethylene suits, look like a postmodern deconstruction team and perform what their leader, composer Gilbert Arsenault, calls "acoustical noise pleasing." In Europe, Urban Sax has assembled crowds by converging on public squares on forklift trucks and steel smoke bombs or setting down buildings on ropes. Next week, in their first North American appearance, they will arrive at Expo's Place of Nations while performing on a large, five-level structure. "The sax reflects urban life better than any other instrument."

A relatively recent product of the industrial age, the sax was invented in

Paris by Adolphe Sax in 1846 to add muscle to marching bands. But it was black American jazz artists of the next century—Coleman Hawkins, Lester Young and Charlie Parker—who unleashed its potential. Then, in the 1960s the sax music of John Coltrane set a new intellectual standard for jazz. Meanwhile, with white teens into black sounds, Bill Haley and the Comets had captured the rock 'n' roll era with a sax player who performed frenetic solos but as his back.

Although the saxophone was a dominant voice in 1960s pop, the electric guitar—and later electronic keyboards—blasted it from the spotlight. But with the recent success of sax-heavy bands led by such rockers as Springsteen and Tina Turner, the instrument's raw sonorities have returned to the fore. Said Springsteen's sax player, Clarence Clemons:

"The sax is rock 'n' roll. I'm proud I helped bring it back." Certainly, the instrument is well-suited to the playfulness of rock. Tommy Cappella, the maverick sax player who jumps brass in Turner's band, described it as "something that comes right out of your gut, set your thoughts."

Meanwhile, the saxophone continues to blow away formal musical boundaries. Last month New Orleans-born jazz saxophonist Branford Marsalis—reclaiming the versatility of his brother, trumpeter Wynton Marsalis—released an album of classical favorites titled *Romance for Saxophone*. And Toronto recording artist Paul Brotha, who has elevated classical sax to the international stage, was scheduled to play a concert series in June this week. A decade ago the World Saxophone Quartet, along with a group called *Superman*, originated the idea of sax ensembles in jazz. Now, Oliver Lake, a member of the quartet, has branched out into reggae and rhythm and blues with a band called *Jump Up*.

Although black Americans were the first to discover the saxophone's soul, the instrument's future may lie closer to Africa. The sax plays a leading role in many of the African pop—notably the protest music of Nigeria's revolutionary pop, *afropop*. Fela Anikulapo Kuti, its conveyer of social extremes of tenderness and rage. As Lake pointed out, "One reason for its popularity is that it can imitate the human voice so well." Urgent and raw, sexy, sultry and sexy, the sax is still blowing the winds of change.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON in Toronto

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## ADVERTISING

# King-sized ad agencies

When the giant U.S. advertising agency 1000 International Inc. merged with two other New York-based firms in April, company officials proclaimed that they now worked for the largest ad agency in the world. But their claim, in that title was short-lived: less than three weeks later Saatchi & Saatchi of Lon-

dons came ready with the worldwide giants who have many counterparts. Shrinkling profit margins have also fuelled the merger trend.

In response to the profit squeeze, Saatchi & Saatchi and such rivals as Omnicom have sought to increase profits by increasing their volume of business through expansion. But consolidation



Charles and Maurice Saatchi, world-scale firms, conflicts of interest

did overlook BBDO by paying \$600 million for the third-largest U.S. ad agency—New York-based Ted Bates Worldwide Inc. Now, the two brothers who don't the huge new conglomerate offer clients the services of 7,000 employees in 38 countries—including Canada, Maurice Saatchi, 39, and Charles, 42, have staked out ambitious goals: eventually, they say, they want to handle up to 30 per cent of world advertising spending—a total estimated at \$22 billion in 1988.

The Saatchi brothers' rise to dominance in the industry has been swift and dramatic: only 16 years ago they opened a fledgling agency in London with newspaper ads urging Britons to cut jabs on cars from Intel. Now, their ad work of agencies represents 60 of the 100 largest corporations in the world. And many of those companies hire agencies capable of running global advertising campaigns—a practice which has accelerated mergers. Still, representatives of small and medium firms say they provide more personal service and can deliver regional ad cam-

paigns more easily than the worldwide giants who have many counterparts. Shrinkling profit margins have also fuelled the merger trend.

When the Bates agency joined the Saatchi & Saatchi empire, the action led to the loss of a 36-year-old Canadian contract selling toothpaste and soap products for Colgate-Palmolive of New York. Colgate was unwilling to continue working with a firm affiliated with Saatchi—which works for its archrival Procter & Gamble of Cincinnati, Ohio. Instead, Colgate will divide a yearly contract worth \$118 million between two smaller agencies—a development that encourages countries in midsize firms. Eric Miller, president of one such firm, Toronto-based Miller Myers Bruce DeLaCorte Harrod Mirin, says he is optimistic about coexistence with the giants. Declared Miller: "The agencies black as from global business because we cannot take it on, but we may get greater domestic business as a result." Clearly, despite their size, the new firms have not eliminated competition.

## 21 of my favourite things.

Two weeks in Nassau.  
Old TV westerns.  
My lie's chicken wings.

Lisa's backbrus.  
Lisa's fostrubs.  
Weekends.  
Windsurfing.

Rainbows.  
Home-made birthday cards.

Reading the newspaper while  
sitting in the tub.  
Sting in deep, deep powder.

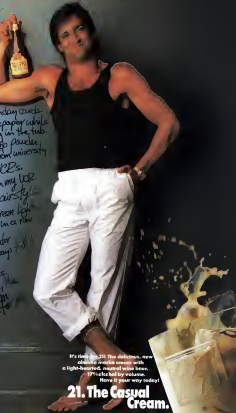
My original essay from university.  
A card-stud. VCRs.

Time shifting with my VCR.  
Lisa's crazy hairstyle.

Getting several green lights  
in a row.  
Off road driving.

My mother's refrigerator  
which always  
"Raggetball".

My downtown address.  
Twenty One,  
Casual cream  
that's made for



It's this hot 21! The delicious, new  
classic vodka cream with  
a light-hearted, neutral wine base.  
It's a hit by volume.  
Have it your way today!

21. The Casual  
Cream.

## The politics of a prison

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney stood in a high school auditorium one year ago and pledged to strengthen the economy of a depressed community 600 km east of Quebec City. To that end, he ordered the construction of a new \$60-million prison for the 13,000 inmates of Port-Carter, the townsmen was the most bustling place of news since the Rogers line closed its cellulose pulp plant in 1970—a development which eventually resulted in the town losing half of its population. And critics suggested that the contract was an indictment on a pledge made by Mulroney during the 1984 federal election campaign to pay close attention to developments in the Maritimes region. But last January civil rights activists, environmentalists, sociologists and doctors from 15 organizations forced a condition to oppose the proposed prison located 500 m from the town's center, a psychiatrist at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital. "When people need care, you don't isolate them from the people who can provide it. This institution will be a monument to stupidity."



Contract jobs for a hard-fall town

The protestative minority penitentiary, scheduled to open in September, 1989, will house 300 child molesters, rapists, adulterers and convicted police officers. They constitute a group which usually requires protection from other inmates. Coalition spokesmen say that sending such inmates to Quebec's North Shore will make them less accessible to social workers and psychiatrists—most of whom are based in Montreal and Quebec City—and cut them off from their families. They also note that about 85 per cent of the convicts currently serving sentences in Laval Institution, a maximum-security prison near Montreal, come from the heavily populated Montreal-Quebec City corridor. Said Paul Williams, director of the John Howard Society of Quebec, a service organization for offenders and their families: "Building this prison in Port-Carter was a clear-cut political decision made without any respect to the inmates or their families. Nobody was consulted."

As well, growing breaking ceremonies at the prison site in May coincided with plans to reduce the 12,000-member federal prison population. That may be achieved by granting nonviolent offenders automatic day passes after they have served six months of their sentence, and other measures. Coalition representatives say that the Mulroney project contradicts the proposed federal policy. But corrections services officials say the new prison will be needed to replace 380 protective custody cells at the 212-year-old penitentiary near Montreal. And they note that it is not the first new prison to be built in a remote location: a federal prison in Sussex, N.B., is at least 120 km northwest of Montreal.

Coalition spokesmen say that prisoners built far from major centres become critical ties between inmates and their friends and relatives. For one thing, friends and relatives from Montreal will have the chance of flying to Sept-Îles (the airport nearest the penitentiary) before embarking on a 64-km taxi ride—a round trip cost of \$300—or enduring a 16-hour, one-way bus ride from Montreal to Port-Carter.

Still, for residents of a town with a 30-per-cent unemployment rate, the prison project will create 700 construction jobs and 350 full-time positions as guards and clerks when the institution opens. Said Port-Carter mayor Anthony Deltre: "It is comforting to know that someone doesn't go bankrupt." But realistic members say they will continue fighting. If Ottawa does not reverse its decision, they predict that the social harm caused will far outweigh the economic benefits for Mulroney's constituents.

—DAN BEEBE in Montreal

## FILMS: BRIEF ENCOUNTERS

THE KARATE KID, PART II  
Directed By John Dahl

In a movie sequel, nothing succeeds like more of the same. In *The Karate Kid, Part II*, the minimeister and his love, young awestruck, new-found friendship and a drug father to the original formula of a hero competing against seemingly insurmountable odds. The first film ended as Daniel

Never been attacked by tree."

Set *The Karate Kid, Part II* is more than a tearjerker with charm. Scenes of placed Okinawan evenings and a vibrant lighting style give it moments of visual magic. For suspense, there is a typewritten scene levels the village just before the fight scene between Daniel and Sato's nephew. The overwrought emotion and constant dramatic could prove irksome to summer audiences. As enjoyably



Movie: a special moment, sleeping goddess and a girl lost in a dancing maze

manipulative politics go. *The Karate Kid, Part II* pulls few punches.

—LAWRENCE STODOL

LADYBIRD  
Directed by Jim Neenan

The story on which the screenplay of *Ladybird* is based is a Freudian nightmare. Conceived by Canadian poet and children's writer Denise Levert, and adapted by Jim Neenan, it was turned into a screenplay by former Nuyorican member Jerry Dennis. A suffering adolescent girl, Sarah (Saoirse Ronan), left to her subject her screaming toddler brother, Toby (Oliver Frawley), wishes the King of the Gables would come and take him away. Her wish is granted: the spectral comoch (David Bowie) arrives to whisk Toby off to the Gables. Cattle. To rescue him, Sarah must reach the castle through the daunting maze surrounding it. But Sarah still clings to her own childhood. And to accomplish her mission, she must leave it behind.

*Ladybird* would have been a lot more affecting if Carroll possessed an even mildly charming screen presence. Still, some contrasts are willing to befriend her, including a doll,

rusty-haired monster named Loda and the troll-like Haggie, who resemble Henson's creations in his previous feature film, *The Dark Crystal*. Coupled with atmospheric special effects, they have a pointlessly compelling tale into an overindulgent spectacle that will seem comically dumb.

Bowie, as the Goble King, is meant to be scary. But in his fright wig, he only manages to look uncomfortable. While Sarah tries to find her way to the castle, he and his subordinates with understated musical numbers which are so out of place in a rock context is a day care centre. They are one more sign that the makers of *Ladybird* have lost their story: it is a mess of grand illusion.

—L. ST

WITNESS PEOPLE  
Directed by Jim Abrahams, David Zucker and Jerry Zucker

Ken (Judge Reinhold) and Sandy (Helen Slater) are a pair of hapless kidnapers. When they tell their victim, Barbara, (Barbra Streisand), that her husband's indifference has forced them to lower her ransom, she screams, "I've been married down!" Their problem is that Barbara's husband, Sam (Denny DeVito), who married her for money, has been forced to kill her four months before her abduction. Sam's mistress, Carol (Anita Morris), believes that he has already done the deed and seeks to blackmail him. In fact, unadorned good intentions almost overtake the rambunctious comedy *Witness People*. The exceptions are the kidnappers, who wish only to retrieve Sandy's stolen fashion designs from the villainous Sam, save a villainous assassin, manufacturer of "Witness People" (Denny DeVito), who is plotting to kill her. "Witness People" would have strangled her."

The movie is surprisingly funny. Its director, Jim Abrahams and David Zucker (Zucker's *Grease*) give it the slapstick pace of a drunk chasing a dollar down a windy street. When the tables are turned on the (slaving Sam), the plot goes happily haywire. DeVito's performance is an infectious piece of comic slapstick whining. Trying to shoot Barbara's poodle or grinning with satisfaction while pretending to mourn, he is a joy to watch. As the disengaged Barbara, David matches DeVito every step of the way. *Witness People* has gotten back to such mercurial effect that even *Witness People* has been

—L. ST

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# Staging tunes of glory

Grand opera crossed over to musical comedy this summer and landed in a Broadway version of sexy, glimmer-drenched, 14th-century Baghdad. The Canadian Opera Company (COC) and the father-son team of Edwin and David Hirshel are staging a \$5-million revival of the 1933 musical *Kismet* at the Mirvish's Royal Alexandra Theatre in Toronto. Awash in such beguiling musical confections as *And This Is My Beloved* and *Stranger in Paradise*—based on melodies by 19th-century Russian composer Alexander Borodin—*Kismet* has more savvy than a Madonna concert. It is the COC's first venture into musical comedy since a 1956 production of *Carousel*. Booned by the public and critical response, the COC plans to take the musical on the road in September after its 10-week run at the Royal Alex.

Kismet's favorable reception adds a great note to what has already been a busy year. Under internationally respected general director Lothar Massner, the COC now has an annual budget of more than \$35 million, the fifth-largest opera company budget in North America. Last April's production of *Aida* with soprano Lenka Michailova was the greatest commercial success in the 55-year history of the company, grossing \$780,679.38. And when its 1989-1990 season ended at

Toronto's O'Keefe Centre last week with Verdi's *La Traviata*, box office receipts totalled more than \$4 million. This year the company inaugurated a new rehearsal space—the Joey and Toby Twohig Opera Centre, which also provides storage facilities and a 430-seat theatre—with the *Slipper's* Opera. And plans proceed for a world-class ballet/opera house in Toronto. Multimillion dollar seasons were not in view when the COC became Canada's first professional opera troupe in 1934. Modest budgets and inexperienced performers slowed the company's rise to respectability. In 1958, Massner's described one offering as "a marriage of Mozart and the Marx Brothers." Then, in the 1960s, a more sophisticated domestic version of the art began to take root. Between 1960 and 1972 the COC's box office returns quadrupled. By the early 1980s the company was attracting such international soloists as Jean Sutherland.

But the struggle to find an appropriate opera performance hall continued. In the 1960s New York's Metropolitan Opera performed annually in the unlikely setting of Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens, intended patron land for popcorn at intermissions. In 1960 the O'Keefe Centre became the main performance stage for the COC and the National Ballet of Canada—but both soon complained



Judy Kaye as Kismet's Lalama; Massner (above), Diplomat's door greeter

of poor sightlines and acoustics.

At a time of dwindling government support for the arts, Massner has helped convince federal and provincial governments of the need for an ambitious \$15-million hall/opera house. At present, the company can book the heavily used, 3,100-seat O'Keefe Centre for only 15 weeks a year. With a new hall, Massner can realize his goal of year-round opera in Toronto. Massner: "It's very dangerous for any arts organization to stand still. If you stagnate, you die."

Clearly, North America's \$200-million-a-year opera industry is in 21st-century danger of stagnating. OPERA AMERICA, a service organization with more than 100 member companies in the United States and Canada, estimates that more than 40 per cent of those companies are less than 15 years old. Canadian opera companies are doing especially well in Montreal, the city where the venerable Opera de Montreal is increasing its number of productions to five times for the 1996-1997 season. In Winnipeg, the Manitoba Opera Association had to add extra chairs to meet public demand this season for its productions of Massner's

*Butterfly* and *The Magic Flute*. And in May the Vancouver Opera sold out every performance of Romanian director Lucian Pintilie's controversial *Carmina*—a production welcomed by local expatriates and a juggling dwarf.

That imminent production of Canadian typists opera's new populist style. One renowned opera company is even surrounding popular culture on television: a McDonald's advertisement currently airing in the United States features the lyric Opera of Chicago singing the praises of what the fast-food chain calls the "classic" Big Mac. For his part, Massner says the mandate is to "pull opera out of the realm of luxury and make it a necessity."

One of the COC's most dramatic initiatives was its devotion and introduction of serials in 1983. Performing the same function as subtitles do in films, serials project a simultaneous translation of the libretto above the stage. To date, more than 100 operas companies around the world have adopted the innovation.

Another way in which the company is spreading the gospel of opera is through the Canadian Opera Company Ensemble, a 25-member group of young student performers. The COC launched the ensemble in 1980 to take over its own expensive touring pro-

gram and to provide a steady supply of fully trained Canadian artists. Last April Ensemble members and graduates filled most of the leading roles in the company's critically praised production of *Puccini's Tosca* at the Carleton Place. And since 1983 the company has been seeking audiences much further afield with an annual series of six broadcasts. Transmitted across Canada on the CBC, those recordings are also picked up by more than 200 U.S. and European stations.

The COC's surprising spark is especially evident inside the century-old brick walls of the Twohig Opera Centre, a former macaroni cherry factory. Theodore Pappas, director and choreographer of *Kismet*, described the Twohig's main hall as "the best rehearsal studio I have ever been in in my life." When renovations are complete, the complex's soaring brick arches will lose somewhat their architectural letters on four sides spelling the word O-P-E-R-A. Meanwhile, according to director of development officer Dory Vanderboort, the building's shabby backstage—currently a tangle of weeds and pigeon droppings—will become a performance space for "contemporary, site-specific, site-specific opera in a Dickensian industrial setting." And in the fall of 1997 the centre will begin offering courses in opera-related subjects.

The Twohig's small theatre enables the COC to mount experimental productions. Said Massner: "When you have to budget for 50-per-cent attendance at the O'Keefe Centre, you can't afford to take many risks. But at the Twohigs, we can be more adventurous." The complex's theatre is now in negotiations to stage the world premiere of Canadian composer J. Murray Scher-ber's *Purcell*. I at the Twohigs. The company has also commissioned singer-songwriter Ann MacIntyre to write a children's opera to be performed there next March.

But Massner said that the need for a new hall/opera hall is still "desperate." For the next four years at least, the COC must continue to

mount all its major productions in the O'Keefe Centre. Some of the world's finest soloists—including Canadian-born artists Jon Vickers and Teresa Stratas—refuse to perform at the O'Keefe because of their proximity to the 1980s. And the new hall may not be completed by the target date of 1990. Although Ontario's minority Liberal government says that it will honor a

previous Tory commitment to donate government-owned land for the building, the opera board has expressed public concern that the financial burden on the city and the province caused by Toronto's projected \$284-million downtown skyline would put the ballet/opera project on hold.

The COC's position is straightforward. It needs a new performance hall, and it will have one. The company has a powerful asset in its board of directors. Presided over by National Victoria and Grey Trustee Chairman H.N.R. (Hal) Jackson, it boasts such members as former federal politicians Alastair Gilchrist and Paul Hellyer. The board has a history of grilling what it perceives as mismanagement but also from the public. Last year, aided by more than 500 volunteers, it raised more than \$2.5 million, outstripping all other arts fund-raising in Canada.

Such spectacular crowd-pleasers as *Kismet* may make it easier for the board to achieve its 1996-1997 fundraising goal of \$2.5 million. Although the COC's first priority is to make its voice heard among the ranks of the opera community, it clearly has more to offer than Verdi and Puccini. Reflecting on the future, Massner said, issued back in his chair and said, "A rock 'n' roll opera would be fabulous."

—PAMELA WONG in Toronto

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

### Fiction

- 1 *A Perfect Spy*, by Greville (1)
- 2 *The Bone Machine*, Ludlum (2)
- 3 *Power of the Sword*, Smith (3)
- 4 *101 Take Manhattan*, Korman (4)
- 5 *East of the River*, C. Moore (5)
- 6 *Life Down with Lions*, Follett (6)
- 7 *The Eighth Commandment*, Sanders (7)
- 8 *The Marmoset Hunters*, Axel (8)
- 9 *The Handmaid's Tale*, Atwood (9)
- 10 *Madison Gate*, Smith (10)

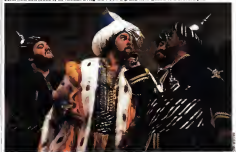
### Nonfiction

- 1 *Footloose*, Conly (1)
- 2 *Fit for Life*, Brown and Diamond (2)
- 3 *The Boston Biker*, Kestel (3)
- 4 *100 Best Companies to Work for in Canada*, Jones, Perry & Lapan (4)
- 5 *Entre Talking*, Brown and Morgan (5)

- 6 *Wells & Edwards Letters 1931-1937*, edited by Black (6)
- 7 *Calcutta: Panchang with Eaton* (7)
- 8 *Going for It*, Kwon (8)
- 9 *One-Flyd Kings*, Graham (9)
- 10 *Innovation*, Fowler (10)

(1) *Protein* last week

John Reardon (centre) as Kismet's Hag the Priest, a grainy note added to a Toronto year



# An obscure cast of candidates

By Allan Fotheringham

Nothing grows under the banyan tree. That's what they said in India when the great Mahatma and his first prime minister, died and there was no one to replace him. On examination, it was found that all possible successors had withered under his shade. The Liberal Party of Canada found the same shade and rot within its structure when Prime Trudeau finally walked away. It was the banyan tree effect. And now we have British Columbia, aka Bennett Columbia, offering yet another example of the strong man taking a walk, snoring behind his hand at the parade and confusion behind him as a rabble and mob of madcats attempt to fill his shoes. Allowing no one to get close to him or his office during his 11-year reign, Bill Bennett saw no wretches while everyone except the office boy and the janitor see in a patch-up to succeed him.

The Social Credit party is trying to make sense of the largest leadership race since the Biko Club in Medicine Hat tried to fill the spot of a well-knowner. As of this writing, there are 11 major contenders for Mr. Bennett's chair, with the office boy and the janitor still to come. Usually, when a premier retires, his successor comes from a coterie of four or five powerful cabinet ministers around him. So powerful was this particular banyan tree (and that being British Columbia) that the candidates include obscure aldermen, sometime Liberals, a chap who has never run for anything and a millisade gardener.

Social Credit, as we know, was founded by a Major Douglas, an English civil engineer who could explain (although no one could understand) the A+B Theorem, on which the philosophy of the movement was based. It revolved going \$80 to every citizen, which would—cursical—revive the economy. Thus, social credit. Twenty years later, Douglas died in a hospital in the Depression in Alberta, where Wild Bill Aberhart, the radio evangelist, named

upon the idea and rode to instant victory. Major Douglas actually served for a time in the 1930s as chief reconstruction adviser to the government of Alberta, bringing us to the present day, the A+B Theorem is clearly at work in the party. Mr. Mac Bennett is abandoning dividing and multiplying the elements until it seems in line with the miracle of the loaves and the fishes. What talent is left has been divided into tiny pieces, so obscure as to drive a riding delegate wild.

Fitting in with the theme, the Socials have chosen as their leader-

world of politics, one man stands head and shoulders above the rest." He once tried to succeed Robert Stanfield (a year before Stanfield stepped down) but retired early when the hoped-for lot of 1,000 at his fund-raising dinner shrank to 30. After Ottawa, he was a radio talk-show host (everyone in B.C.) and runs a restaurant, and now he wants to run the province. God's tools.

There is Bill Hunter (aka Willie Wooden Shoes, as he is known), who even larger sideburns and greater ambitions than Reynolds, both being formidable accomplishments. He is the winsome lad who on the night of the Parti Québécois victory (the then of Mr. Manning's R.C. cabinet) said it was a good thing because we wouldn't have to bother with French on the cornflakes boxes. He later called Brad Lindsay a "thing," has run for leadership of the B.C. Liberal party, mayor of Vancouver and most everything else.

A strong candidate is Thomas Sweeney, Minister Jim Nielsen, who was recently in the headlines because, carrying with a wife not his own, was surprised by the lady's husband who promptly resigned his law and then went on television, though a legal still servant, to explain exactly how and why he had jopped the chap who at that moment controlled the largest amount of money in the whole government.

There are two chaps called Smith, one of whom worked in Bennett's office and has never run for anything in his life, plus a millionaire, who used to be an Air Canada pilot, whose family owns the Rogers Super Service.

There is flame-haired Grace McClellan, whose official biography boasts she is 58, a former chair-lady of every riding's Sobered Women's Auxiliary, who worshipped W.A.C. Bennett and, having rebuilt the party, has lived in a warty tree with his son ever since whenever the Vancouver Left wants a media event, they have reformer mothers stage a brawl and are banished on the town of her Shanghaiese Heights home.

The boss of the banyan tree is secretly named as it all



BY PHILIP

ship convention, aka at end of July the course and route Whistler Mountain resort, hidden in the mountains north of Vancouver at the end of a twisty and steep road where each winter more than a few wine-soaked skiers go to their reward, oblivious to the fact that the road curves Whistler was designed as the Canadian answer to the Colorado playpen of Aspen, the sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll capital of the world. Twentieth Century-Fox was given a 50-year lease by the B.C. government to develop the place. Whistler moans in the valley of five lakes—Alpa, Nita, Alta, Green and Lost—two of them connected by the aptly named River of Golden Dreams. Could you find a better setting for the aspirations of this crowd?

There is such as John Reynolds, now a Sobered householder who was once nominated by a Modern's back page as the worst member of Parliament of the decade, the column being decorated with the memorable headline, "Is the



There's vodka.

And then there's Smirnoff.



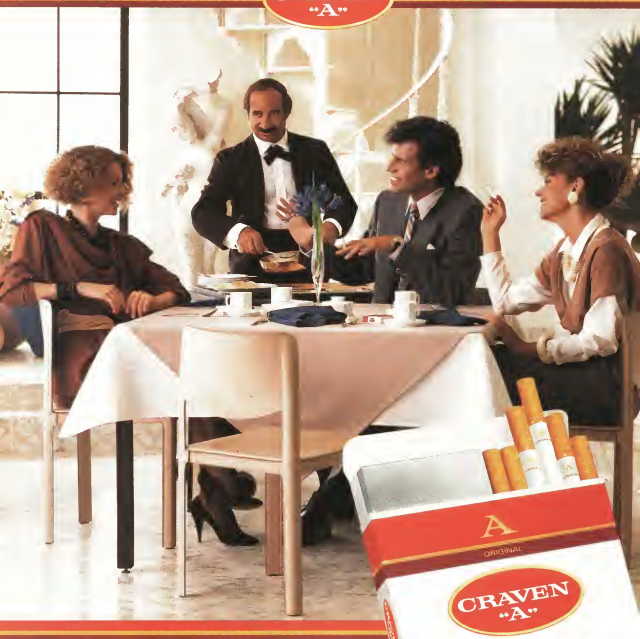
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Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.



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